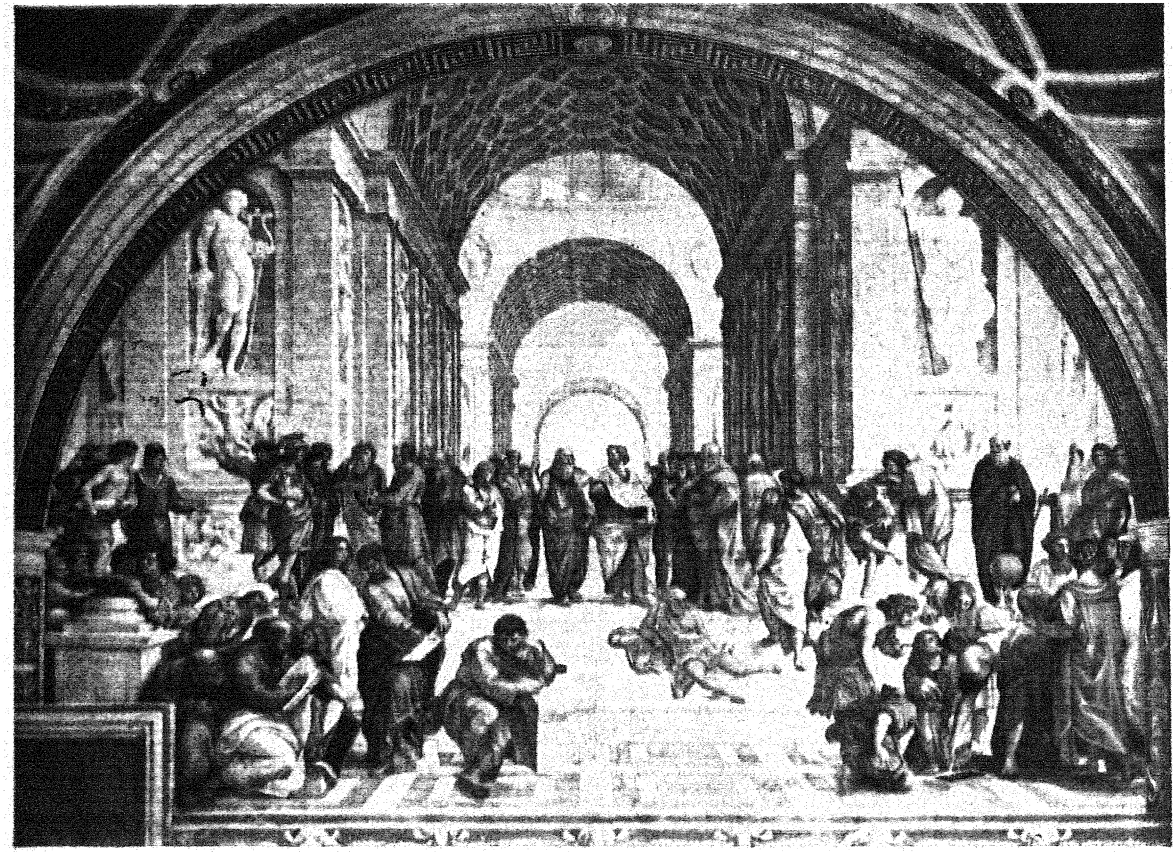


THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. (*Pages* 275-282)

FROM THE PAINTING BY RAPHAËL

The World's Great Events

An Indexed History of the World
from Earliest Times to the Present Day



ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME ONE

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PREFACE

IN PREPARING for the public such a history as is here comprised within the compass of ten volumes, we believe that it answers an old and a wide demand for the great events of the world's history presented in *accessible form*.

Universal interest.

Everyone is interested in history, everyone desires the chronicles of the world's events on his library shelves. But how to obtain them from the wide field of master historians without an immense outlay of time and labor?

The World's Great Events here presented have been gleaned from the mass of historical matter that often engulfs them, and linked together in clear chronological sequence from the earliest beginnings of history down to the world-changing wars and scientific developments of the twentieth century. For accuracy, clear-cut conciseness, and literary genius the work is unique. There is no story, no wonder-dealing drama, so full of charm or thrilling interest as the life-story of the world in the hands of good historians! The dead past is quickened to brilliant life under their wizard touch. Interest grips memory and holds it, for the dry statements that

we once laboriously culled from text-books and works of reference, afterwards to forget, are here become living facts to us, full of vivid detail. Without doubt such volumes as these present not only a reading course of the best and most important in historical literature, but they also become invaluable as books of reference.

"But," you may naturally ask, "What *is* History?"

We may dismiss many excellent and accurate definitions for the sake of a very simple one, on which the plan and purpose of these volumes are based: "History is an account of facts, or events, especially in the life-development of men and nations, in the order in which they happened and with their causes and effects."

History defined.

This work, therefore, attempts to give a summary of history thus regarded, by selecting the most important events as described and considered by the greatest historians.

Tradition and myth.

In the infancy of the world all knowledge of the past was preserved by means of tradition, orally: and much of it was mythical. The first attempts at recording contemporary occurrences, such as some startling incident —an earthquake, an eclipse, a flood or other catastrophe, victories and acts of rulers, or events in the life of a prominent person—were depicted on bricks, tablets, walls of buildings or monuments, by means of picture-writing engraved in relief or carved below the surface, *intaglio*. The oldest known historical writings are found

on the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, and in the ruins of ancient Greek and Phœnician towns. These records are necessarily episodic and fragmentary.

Papyrus rolls.

The next step was the employment of rolls made of paper of the papyrus plant on which the scribe actually wrote with a reed pen and with ink, black and red. This more convenient form afforded opportunity for more space, and the historian was able to group his facts and to introduce elements of continuity and sequence. Most of the writing was done in the hieratic, a kind of abridged hieroglyphs, of which there was a still further abridgment called the demotic, containing an alphabet of forty-two letters. Picture-writing had now developed into a series of abstract symbols known as letters. The alphabetic system began with the Phœnicians and was improved by the Greeks. Writing had become a medium of expression instead of bald record.

Hieroglyphics.

It may be interesting to note here that after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Greeks began to study the language and history of their subjects, and Eratosthenes, keeper of the museum of Alexandria, and Manetho, the high-priest of Sebennytus, drew up a record of national chronology and history from hieroglyphic sources. Heliodorus, novelist of 400 A. D., described a hieroglyphic letter written by Queen Candace; but after Horus-Apollon, who wrote two books attempting to explain the hieroglyphs, a century later, all knowledge of them disappeared until the revival of letters. In

1529 A. D. they began to attract attention, and in 1787 Zoëga announced that the ovals, or cartouches, contained royal names and that some of the hieroglyphs were used to express sound. The discovery by the French, near Rosetta, of the slab of black basalt, now known as the Rosetta stone, having inscribed on it a decree of the priests assembled in synod at Memphis in honor of Ptolemy V., in three languages—hieroglyphics, demotic, and Greek—gave the first clue to the interpretation of hieroglyphics. It has been pointed out that the Egyptian hieroglyphics were still written and read two centuries and a half after the birth of Christ, and that the Babylonian cuneiform characters were employed till after the destruction of Jerusalem. Long before this, the Egyptian records had been translated into Greek by Manetho, and the Babylonian records by Berosus. But these translators were neglected by the contemporary literary world, as being "barbarians," and it was only a Jew, like Josephus, or such orientalizing Christians as Eusebius, who made any use of them.

Cuneiform characters.

And now let us turn to the historians. The name that heads the list is that of Herodotus, who lived towards the end of the fifth century. His plan was not a universal history, but a partial history of the wars of Greece with the barbarians, interspersed with incidental geographical information. As his are the earliest known works that can be classed as history, Herodotus is known familiarly as the "father of history."

Herodotus.

The second great historian is Thucydides, who wrote from the philosophical standpoint, explaining the actions that he recorded. Polybius, who followed him, enlarged upon his idea. As a rule, the Greek and Roman historians confined themselves to plain narrative, as did Xenophon in *Anabasis;* Cæsar in his *Commentaries* and Livy in his extended history. Tacitus, one of the greatest of all historians, is famous for his conciseness of phrase and love of truth. *Thucydides.*

The period between the Fall of Rome and the Middle Ages is lacking in historians; but in the Middle Ages such chroniclers as Froissart, Monstrelet, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew Paris, Holinshed, and others made treasure-houses for all who wish to form an intimate acquaintance with the past. *Froissart.*

The invention of printing also brought many into the field. After the days of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, historians perpetuated the spirit of their works, as these two Italians were long considered models of historical writing. In the great list of historians mention of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sismondi, Thiers, Michelet, Bancroft, Macaulay, Prescott, Motley, Froude, and Gibbon, recalls the philosophical narrative and romantic treatment of facts that show how far the art and science of the historian have developed since the days of hieroglyphics, cylinders and papyrus rolls.

Prof. A. H. Sayce, Oxford University, states:

"Egypt, historically the oldest of countries, is geologically the youngest. King Menes is said to have founded Memphis, and to have established the city as his capital. The date to which this earliest recorded event was assigned by Manetho has been variously computed. Boeckh makes it 5702 B. C.; Unger, 5613; Mariette, 5004; Brugsch, 4455; Lauth, 4157; Pessl, 3917; Lepsius, 3892; and Bunsen, 3623.

"This great divergence in the computations of eminent scholars emphasizes the conjectural basis upon which the chronology of the older period of Egyptian history formerly stood. It may now be confidently asserted, as a result of Meyer's researches, that the accession of Menes must be placed between 3400 and 3200 B. C., or, taking the mean between these two extremes, not far from 3300 B. C. The existing data do not permit a closer approximation."

Robert Matteson Johnston, Professor of History in Harvard University, thus places the limits of history:

"The practical limit of history extends over a period of about three thousand years—goes back, in other words, to about 1000 B. C. Beyond that we have merely scraps of historical evidence, names or pictures engraved on stone, to show that in periods very remote considerable monarchies flourished in Egypt, along the Euphrates, and in other directions."

Historical evidence.

As an aid to memory and for a clear conception of historical values and their relation to one another, as well as a matter of convenience in settling the landmarks of history in the reader's mind, the generally accepted divisions of history are recommended: ancient, mediæval and modern.

Rome and Europe.

Rome is the centre of all European history. The history of Europe is almost wholly made up of the steps by which the older states came under the power of Rome, and secondly, of the way in which the modern states of Europe were formed by the breaking up of that power. Greece alone has a real history of its own, earlier than that of Rome and independent of it.

The first step toward grasping the history of those centuries through which the ancient world evolved into the modern is the comprehension of the fact that the old Roman Empire did not cease to exist until the year 1453. The line of Roman Emperors continued in unbroken succession from Octavius Augustus to Constantine Paleologus. Historians who first use the phrase Byzantine Empire are not very precise as to the date at which the Roman Empire ends and the Byzantine Empire begins. Sometimes the line is drawn at the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, sometimes at the death of Theodosius the Great, sometimes at the reign of Justinian, and sometimes at the accession of Leo the

Isaurian. All these lines are purely arbitrary. No "Byzantine Empire" ever began to exist. The Roman Empire, moreover, was one and undivided in the Fifth Century: though there were generally more Emperors than one, there were never two Empires. However independent one of another, or even hostile, theoretically the unity of the Empire which they ruled was unaffected.

Transition. The transition from the ancient to the mediæval world may be said to have taken place between the Fourth Century and the Eighth. We can hardly apply the term Mediæval to the Fourth Century, or the term Ancient to the Eighth. In the year 395 A. D. the Empire was still intact, but with the Fifth Century its dismemberment began. A rival Roman Empire was founded in 800 A. D. The Coronation of Charles the Great marks a new departure in European history, and therefore, it forms a suitable end as well as a suitable beginning.

Such unity as had been given to Western Europe by the Mediæval Empire and the Papacy disappeared with the Great Interregnum in the middle of the Thirteenth Century; and such unity as was afterward supplied by the growth of formal international relations cannot be said to begin before the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. of France at the end of the Fifteenth Century. In the interval between these two dates there is apparent chaos, and the germs of future order can only be de-

tected by the closest examination. The dominant characteristic of the age is its diversity. A cursory glance over some of the most striking episodes of the period will serve to show the multiplicity of its interests. The Hundred Years' War between England and France; the rise and fall of the House of Burgundy; the struggle between the old and the new conceptions of ecclesiastical polity in the Papal schism; the councils of Constance and Basle, and the Hussite War; the marvellous achievements of Venice and Florence under both republican and Medicean rule; the revival of art and letters in many large and small centres; the growth and decline of great corporations, such as the Hanseatic League and the Teutonic Order; the expansion of Christian at the expense of Mohammedan Spain, and, per contra, the conquest of the Eastern Empire by the Turks.

Striking episodes.

The present work presents history by events in detail, and does not pretend to give a general review of the course of human progress. In many cases, the selections will be found to be descriptions of events specially treated without reference to contemporary history. In other cases, the selection shows broader treatment; for example, the Siege of Syracuse by Creasy gives a comprehensive view of the Greek politics of the day. Carlyle's Destruction of the Bastille is a rhapsodical account of a special tumult. The reader will be able to form a very clear idea, however, of the course of history from

the events selected with the variety of treatment they have received from the different historians. It will be well, however, here to give a rapid summary of the general movements and characteristics of the centuries of the Christian Era.

Arminius.

The First Century saw the first serious check to the Roman arms by the "barbarians" under Arminius, the destruction of Jerusalem, the assumption of dictatorial power by the Pretorian Guard with regard to the succession, and the persecution of the Christians.

The Second, Third, and Fourth Centuries mark the splendors of the Antonines and the vices and follies of their successors, bewildering revolutions, wars upon the frontier, torrents of barbarian invasion, and the still greater changes that gave the world a new religion. By the end of the Fifth Century, Imperial Rome has almost insensibly vanished from the scene, and Italy has become a Gothic kingdom, surrounded by the monarchies of Europe in the first stage of their formation. The

Constantinople.

Queen of the East has arisen, as if by enchantment, from the waters of the Bosphorus, and her splendor has again been overcast. Christianity has triumphed, but the triumph has been abused by her ministers. The West is ripe for Feudalism; and the Past seems to await the doom of her idolatries from the sword of Mohammed.

During the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, Christianity gradually won its way in the Roman Empire, and was adopted by the Teutonic nations which had settled in the Roman dominions. The Romance nations arose and the English first assailed Britain. The Western Empire was cut up till Italy, all that was left of it, was nominally joined again to the Eastern Empire. Constantinople was the capital of the whole Empire when united and of the Eastern portion when divided. In the Sixth Century, the Eastern Emperors regained some of their lost provinces, including all Italy, Africa, and part of Spain. But the Lombards soon reconquered the greater part of Italy. In the Seventh Century, Persia and the Roman Empire alternately threatened to destroy each other. Then the Saracens conquered Persia, the Eastern and African Roman provinces, Spain, and part of Gaul. In the meanwhile, the Franks united Germany and Gaul into one kingdom. Called into Italy, their king was elected Emperor of the Western in opposition to the Eastern Roman Empire. Thus, in the Ninth Century there were again two Roman Empires, one German and the other Greek. There were now, also, two Caliphates, the Eastern one being pressed by the Turks.

Modern nations.

The Ninth and Tenth Centuries saw the birth of the chief modern nations of Europe. The Frankish Kingdom of the West, which had been joined to the Western Empire under Charlemagne, broke up into the four

Kingdoms of France, Germany, Burgundy, and Italy. The Kingdoms of Germany and Italy under Otto the Great were united with the Western Empire, and Burgundy was added soon after. The union of the Western Kingdom with the duchy of France gave rise to modern France. In Britain, the supremacy of Wessex created the Kingdom of England. In Scandinavia, the Kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were formed, and Norse settlements, of which Normandy was the chief, were made in Britain and on the Continent. Under Cnut, a great northern empire was temporarily created, the Danes and Northmen being at the height of their power. The Eastern Empire was becoming almost entirely Greek, and its power increased during the Tenth Century: it gained territory at the expense of the Saracens and Bulgarians. Poles, Russians, and Hungarians also formed Christian Kingdoms.

Norse settlements.

The Eleventh Century saw the sway of the Franconian Emperors, the beginnings of the Crusades, the Turkish power, and the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The Normans conquered England and the Christians began to gain ground in Spain. During the Dark Ages, civilization and Christianity had been on the wane.

Empire and Papacy.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries were strongly transitional. They saw the almost universal monarchy of

the Papacy, the Crusades, the monastic revivals, a strong though limited intellectual revival, and a resulting marvellous development of art, letters, and material civilization. It was a period of many-sided activity and general progress. It was "the age of feudalism, of the Papacy and the Empire, of the Crusades, of chivalry, of scholasticism and the early universities, of monasticism in its noblest types, of mediæval art in its highest aspects, and of national monarchy in its earliest form." During this time both the Eastern and Western Empires practically came to an end, for though their titles persisted they were no longer the two great powers of Europe. The two Caliphates also came to an end. The Western Caliphate was broken up into small Kingdoms till St. Ferdinand (1217-1252) won back Seville and Cordova, and only Granada remained to the Moors. The Eastern Caliphate also was in the first place broken up by the Moguls in 1258. There was no longer, therefore, any universal temporal power, either Christian or Mohammedan. As the Emperors grew weaker, the Popes grew stronger. What Christendom lost by the conquests of the Turks in the Eastern Empire and the establishment of the Mogul power in Russia, it gained by the recovery of Spain and Sicily. Castile became the chief power in Spain, and after a struggle with the Norman and Angevin Kings of England, France became the chief power in Gaul. The Imperial power was weakened in Germany and Italy to the gain of the princes of Germany

Crusades

and the cities of Italy. The Kingdom of Sicily grew up and broke in two and the Eastern power of Venice began. The Teutonic Knights hindered the Eastern growth of Denmark and originated the power of Prussia. The Crusades came to an end.

Modern history begins.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries laid the final foundation for modern history. Both Empires really came to an end. The Eastern Empire was destroyed by the Turks; and the Western Empire lost all its power. and Frederick III. (1452) was the last Emperor crowned at Rome. While a great Mohammedan power arose at Byzantium, Spain got rid of the last Mohammedan Kingdom at the other extremity of Europe, and Russia freed herself from the Mohammedans in the Northeast The long and devastating wars between England and France began and ended, France coming out of the contest with enlarged territories. Protracted civil wars raged also in England. The states of Burgundy and Switzerland arose, the former coming to a speedy end, and the latter lasting. In Italy, most of the commonwealths fell under tyrants who grew into princes, and the Popes reigned as Italian sovereigns. In Italy, also, learning revived. The Scandinavian Kingdoms were somewhat loosely united. Poland grew into a great power, and shared with Hungary and Venice the work of defending Christendom against the Turks.

The Fifteenth Century, "the threshold of modern history," witnessed a complete revolution in the aspect and relations of society. The capture of Constantinople scattered its fugitive scholars over Europe as missionaries of classical learning, and the invention of printing produced just at the right moment a ready supply for the intellectual demand thus newly created. The use of gunpowder revolutionized the tactics and practice of war. Kings also began to keep standing armies. Maritime for overland commerce was also substituted by the discoveries of the New World and the Cape passage to India.

Printing invented.

During the Sixteenth Century, there were great changes in the relative importance of the European powers. Though the title of Emperor was still given to the German kings of the House of Austria, the Empire practically came to an end. The Spanish branch of that House rose to the first place in Europe. The Italian States became dependencies of Spain, except so far as Venice still remained a bulwark against the Turks. Hungary ceased to be an independent kingdom; the Turks held the greater part, and the Austrian archdukes were kings of the rest. Under the House of Jagellon, Poland at this period was one of the greatest states in Europe, stretching over a great part of Russia. The Teutonic Knights were abolished, and their Grand Master became hereditary Duke of East Prussia. A new nation was formed by the revolt of the United Provinces against

Spain. Sweden suddenly became one of the chief powers of Europe, and Russia took the first steps toward greatness under Ivan the Terrible. Meanwhile, the changes in religion split the churches in the West altogether asunder, and the religious wars began.

Puritan Revolution.

The first half of the Seventeenth Century in England was filled with the Puritan Revolution, culminating with the Protectorate. Northern Europe was convulsed with the great religious wars; while France under Richelieu was curbing the nobility and the Huguenots. The power of Spain was crumbling, till at last the great Spanish monarchy was altogether cut to pieces. France now took the lead in Europe instead of Spain, and grew so fast under Louis XIV. that the union of several other powers was needed to keep her in check. After the second revolution, England assumed a high place in Continental affairs. She also planted many colonies in America. The Empire had become a mere name; but the Emperors, as Austrian princes, had gained greatly in the Netherlands and Italy, and also as Kings of Hungary against the Turks. Prussia was growing up into a great German power. Italy was dead, save that Savoy was advancing and Venice was gallantly maintaining her strength with the Turks. By the time Louis XIV. was dead, Sweden and Poland had fallen from the rank of great powers. Russia, however, had sprung up and was rapidly growing at the expense of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey.

The Eighteenth Century saw the decline and fall of Spain as a first-class power. England and Scotland united more closely and began to take a more important part in Continental affairs, winning a foothold in the Mediterranean for the first time. The German power, Brandenburg or Prussia, rose to greatness, and Russia also constantly increased in power. Sweden, Poland, and Turkey greatly declined. The Dutch power increased in the East at the expense of the Portuguese, and the British supplanted the French in India. The end of the period saw the establishment of the United States. Italy scarcely existed politically except as the battlefield for other powers, but the House of Savoy was pushing its way into prominence. The greatest events of the century were the foundation of the United States and the French Revolution. By the end of the century Europe was more changed than it had ever been before in the same space of time. Old ideas and old institutions were utterly swept away by the Revolution in a way that had never previously happened.

French Revolution.

The Nineteenth Century saw great changes. The fall of Napoleon made little difference to France from a territorial point of view. She came out of the great war with nearly the same boundaries and under the same dynasty that she had at the outbreak of the Revolution, but her internal state was entirely changed. England had raised her position in Europe to the highest point; her Euro-

pean acquisitions of territory were represented by only one or two small islands, but her colonial possessions had been vastly increased. The German Empire had given way to a Confederation; Italy was still cut up into small States in which Austrian influence was dominant. The old Spanish dynasty had been restored and Portugal was governed by Brazil. Sweden had finally given up all territory south and east of the Baltic, and Scandinavia, though still two kingdoms, had only one king. The Netherlands now also formed a kingdom. France rapidly recovered from the Napoleonic Wars and resumed her influence in the councils of Europe. After several revolutions, her ambition to be paramount was defeated by the allied German States, which deprived her of some of her former conquests. The unification of Germany and restoration of the Empire were the direct results of the war. The various Italian States united in one kingdom under the House of Savoy and got rid of Austrian rule. Austria united with Hungary to form a dual kingdom. All vestiges of Polish independence were destroyed by Russia, and Denmark was shorn of the duchies. Two new kingdoms, Belgium and Greece, were formed and guaranteed by the powers. Notwithstanding the temporary check of the Crimean War, Russia greatly increased in aggressiveness and power, principally at Turkey's expense. Spain's loss of her colonial possessions, Japan's rise to the rank of a first-class power, and the

Germany unified.

wonderful strides in prosperity and influence made by the United States, mark the closing years of the century.

The most engrossing but withal the most disturbing and menacing history yet recorded, for all ages and all the lands of the globe, is that covering the events of the Twentieth Century—so much of it as has already been experienced. It has been an era of wars, two of them world wars on an inconceivably vast scale, the most far-reaching, and probably the most disastrous ever known. The second of these great conflicts, now in progress, involves the total resources in materials, man power, and mechanization of the greatest world powers. It is conducted in general by methods, tactics, and strategic measures that differ greatly from those developed in the war of 1914-1918. It may result in such a setback to the progress of civilization that centuries may be required for general recovery.

Wars of unprecedented magnitude.

On the other hand, these dangerous years have been full of achievements in discovery, invention, and measures for social betterment. The Twentieth Century is marked by great industrial, commercial, and scientific development. And if the world has suffered as never before from war, for a time the nations had—and may have again—a noble vision of a path toward permanent peace and widespread prosperity.

Twentieth Century achievements.

Early in the century, it became apparent that the age of great explorations, which began some time before

The Poles of the earth are reached.

Columbus discovered America, was about to end. In 1909, Peary reached the North Pole; in 1911, Amundsen arrived at the South Pole. In 1926, Byrd flew over the North Pole in the *Josephine Ford*, and Amundsen, Ellsworth, and Nobile not only passed over the Pole but crossed the Arctic Ocean in the dirigible *Norge*. Three years later Byrd flew over the South Pole. Subsequent explorations in the Antarctic have confirmed the opinion that the South Polar regions are covered by a continent, Antarctica.

Antarctic continent.

The discovery of radium by the Curies in the closing years of the Nineteenth Century had lasting influence in developing the chemical science of the Twentieth Century. From the beginning, the properties of radium suggested amazing things concerning the achievements of the chemists and physicists of the future, when men may have learned to use and control the atomic forces of matter. Recent years show promising steps toward such achievement through experiments with Uranium 235.

Experiments in atomic force.

Wireless communication.

Wireless communication developed rapidly once its principles had been established. In 1901, Marconi succeeded in sending the letter "S" across the Atlantic. In 1909, Peary announced by wireless from Labrador that he had reached the North Pole. In 1929, Byrd, flying over the South Pole, announced the fact from his airplane. World news is spread over the earth by wireless. People sitting in their own homes throughout the United States learned from their own radios, while the fighting

was still going on, of the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Panama Canal.

In the field of transportation, great developments included the construction and opening of the Panama Canal, in fulfillment of a dream that had been in the minds of men since Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean; the opening of the Trans-Siberia Railroad (1901); the widespread use of the automobile for all sorts of purposes; the first successful flight in a heavier-than-air device (1903) and the establishment of regular air-travel routes that provide speedy journeys across continents and over oceans. With the motor car came intensive building of fine highways. In the United States these form a great system connecting points of beauty and importance from coast to coast, running down into Mexico on the south, into Canada on the north, with plans, already partially carried out, for joining all continental American countries by good motor roads. The Alaska Highway (1942) is an example of high-speed road construction demanded by the exigencies of global war. Air routes not only provide quick transportation but open up regions not served by railroads and good roads.

Automobiles and airplanes.

Development of aviation.

The Twentieth Century is marked by great development in aeronautics. When the Nineteenth Century closed, some successful flights had been made with dirigible balloons, but the verified tale of man-carrying heavier-than-air flying machines (except for gliders) is of the Twentieth Century. In 1903, Professor Langley came near

success, and the Wright brothers actually made some short flights. The Wrights began their exhibition flights in 1908. When the European War broke out in 1914, Germany, as well as the other great nations at first involved, had airplanes, dirigibles, and stationary balloons. It became evident immediately that aircraft provided the most potent means of watching an enemy and a method by which distant towns, fortifications, and troops might be attacked. Airplanes were thus used at first for observation and for bombing—then fighting and pursuit planes became a defense against enemy observers and bombers. Battles between aviators took place in the air. Such impetus was given to the science of aeronautics by war necessity that soon after peace was made aviators crossed the Atlantic and airplane routes were established between such important points as Paris and London, mails were carried, and territory was mapped by aviators. In 1927, Charles Lindbergh made the first solo flight across the Atlantic—the first non-stop air journey between New York and Paris. In 1933, Wiley Post flew alone around the world, and the Italian Balbo flew from Rome to the Chicago World's Fair in July with twenty-four seaplanes and ninety-six men, returning the next month. Commercial aviation soon became of great importance, its regular schedules not only connecting cities, but providing for crossing continents and oceans.

Aircraft in the war of 1914–1918.

Famous airplane flights.

Commercial aviation.

Nations throughout the world have also been much affected by the rapid and significant developments in

science and invention. New knowledge increased the frightfulness of war and at the same time rendered the small nations more helpless and gave aggressors more power to threaten and override the peoples that leaned toward peace—a world conflict might destroy not only governments, but peoples; it might bring to an end the present form of civilization. Perhaps these dangers induced the mistaken belief that no people would risk the infamy of bringing about another world war.

New inventions aid aggressors.

The story of Twentieth Century conflict may be considered to begin with the Boer War, still in progress in 1901, though begun in 1899. Peace was signed at Pretoria in 1902. Boer leaders of the gallant fight against the British Empire had an important part on the side of the Empire in the World War of 1914-1918. South Africans conquered the near-by German African colonies. One former Boer general had a leading role in founding the League of Nations and later endeavored to make peace between Great Britain and Ireland.

Boer War.

The next important struggle was in the Pacific and on or near the Pacific coast of Asia. It was fought by two outside nations over their respective interests in China and Korea. The war between Russia and Japan began on February 8, 1904, when the Japanese, without a declaration of war, made a surprise attack on the Russian squadron at Port Arthur. The Russo-Japanese War was terminated by the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905.

Japan's victory over Russia.

In 1910, the old kingdom of Portugal became a republic. In 1911, the Italians began war on the Turks, winning Tripoli for Italy. In the same year, Diaz, long President and virtual dictator of Mexico, resigned and left the country, and a long series of brigand raids, rebellions, revolutions, and new governments ensued, eventually to end in conditions presaging a free and well-ordered nation. In 1911, too, the Chinese overthrew the Manchu dynasty and founded a republic.

Chinese Republic.

In 1912, came the Balkan Alliance and the First Balkan War, in which Turkey lost much of her European territory. In 1913, the Balkan countries engaged in a war among themselves.

The great European War, which began in 1914 when the Austro-Hungarian Empire attacked Serbia, became a world war in 1917, when the United States, departing from tradition, joined the Allies and sent a vast army overseas for the final campaigns. This World War was ended by armistice in November, 1918, and by treaties in 1919. At its close the German Empire became the German Republic and the German colonies were assigned to other nations as mandates. The empire of Austria-Hungary was split up. Poland was again a nation, and a great many other boundary and nation changes had been made. A revolution in Russia had brought about a strange experiment in government—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Results of the war of 1914–1918.

Lesser conflicts followed, some of them the result of

dissatisfaction with existing settlements. The causes of warfare between the Greeks and the Turkish Nationalists may have been permanently removed by acceptance of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Wars within China continued and produced one remarkable leader, Chiang Kai-shek. Ireland became, first a free state within the British Empire and then a republic sufficiently disunited from Britain to declare itself neutral as between the British Empire and Germany in 1939. On October 30, 1922, Benito Mussolini, leader of the Fascists who marched on Rome earlier in the month, took over the government of Italy at the request of King Victor Emmanuel. In short measure he became dictator of the country and was known as *Il Duce*.

Greeks and Turks.

Fascism in control in Italy.

In 1930, Spain became a republic. The conflict between Japan and China which started in the latter part of 1931 in Manchuria spread into northern China. In South America, Bolivia and Paraguay, in 1933, engaged in an undeclared war over Gran Chaco. Colombia and Peru were involved in a dispute over Leticia. A virtual dictatorship, which proved to be one of the strongest and most aggressive ever known, was set up in Germany by Adolf Hitler (*der Führer*) in 1933. In the period from 1933 to 1935 Cuba underwent various disturbances of a revolutionary nature. Machado, whose government had been dictatorial, was forced to flee the country in 1933.

Japan and China.

Though the world was far from security and peace, some important steps in that direction had been taken.

League's successes and failures.

There was the Hague Tribunal. The League of Nations established an International Court, made valuable decisions in international affairs, and was a medium for calling important conferences. It failed, however, to check Japanese aggression in Manchuria and in other Chinese regions. The events of subsequent years were to prove even more perturbing, for the League was to fail in a still greater degree when Mussolini, in defiance of criticism, warnings, and sanctions, attacked Ethiopia in 1935 and declared this ancient African empire a part of Italian East Africa in 1936.

Year of three kings in England.

England's unique contribution to history in 1936 included the death of one king, George V, the accession of his eldest son as Edward VIII, the abdication of Edward, and the accession of his brother as George VI. The year 1937 saw the pomp of a British coronation, and in 1939 the King and Queen departed on the modern substitute for a royal progress, in which they traversed Canada from coast to coast and made a further departure from precedent in a visit to the United States.

American depression.

The United States, after a period of notable prosperity and industrial activity, plunged into depression marked not only by financial difficulties but by an unprecedented extent of unemployment beginning in 1929 and continuing for years. Franklin D. Roosevelt, inaugurated President in 1933 and 1937, and as the first third-term President in 1941, led in attempts to bring about an era of greater social justice and security.

Germany is re-armed and aggressive.

The Saar was restored to Germany in 1935 through a plebiscite. In 1936, Germany militarized the Rhineland, disregarding the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. She was fast re-arming. In 1938, Germany invaded and annexed Austria. In the same year, after the Pact of Munich, she took Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia in which many were of German race. In the spring of 1939 most of Czechoslovakia was annexed to Germany, small portions going to other countries. England and France made unheard-of concessions in the supposed interest of peace.

Spanish revolution.

Spain went through a vastly destructive civil war and revolution, beginning in the summer of 1937 and ending with the victory of Franco in the spring of 1939.

Japan wars on China.

Japan entered on another undeclared war on China in July, 1937. In spite of continued military successes and a great superiority in equipment, the war by 1939 seemed to be a stalemate. An accompanying phenomenon was the westward migration of many Chinese.

The Nazis precipitate a new European War.

Germany's attack on Poland on September 1, 1939, precipitated a new European war, since England and France could no longer hesitate. Both declared war on Germany on September 3. Russia had made a new pact with Germany and was now her friend rather than that of the Allies. Poland was quickly defeated and partitioned between Germany and the Soviet. There followed a war of entrenchment and little action, with Russia seizing parts of Finland and (later) annexing the Baltic

Denmark, Norway, Holland, and France.

States. On April 9, 1940, reverting to "lightning warfare," the Nazis invaded Norway and Denmark. Holland was next to succumb. Leopold of Belgium surrendered with his army on May 28; the British in Belgium saved most of their men, but not their munitions. The Maginot Line was turned and France overcome.

Russia attacked.

On June 21, 1941, Germany attacked Soviet Russia. Japan, on December 7, struck at the Pacific possessions of the United States and Britain, and in six months had taken the Philippines, Malaya, Netherlands Indies, Hong-Kong, parts of New Guinea, the Solomons, and many other islands in the South Pacific regions. The onward rush of the Japanese was stopped by American naval victories in the Coral Sea and at Midway Island, in May and June, 1942.

American naval victories.

The reconquest of Europe began with the Allied invasion of North Africa in November, 1942. This was used as a stepping stone to Sicily in August, 1943, and the Italian mainland a month later. The long awaited invasion of France occurred on the Normandy beaches June 6, 1944. By fall, France, Belgium, and parts of Holland had been retaken and the battle of Germany begun. In May, 1945, all German armies surrendered.

Germany defeated.

In the Pacific, American forces invaded the Philippines in October, 1944, and took Manila in February 1945. The conquest of the Ryukyu Islands was completed in July. Russia declared war on Japan August 9. Japan surrendered to the Allies on September 1, 1945.

Japan surrenders.

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THE PREHISTORIC WORLD AND PRIMITIVE MAN

FRANZ BOAS

THE earliest man of whom we have historical records was the possessor of many arts. By the art of writing he was able to communicate to later generations the events that impressed him as worthy of being remembered or as important to his contemporaries.

No record tells of the events of earlier times, of the steps that led man from his animal ancestors forward in bodily build and in culture. No one can tell us of a moment when man began to walk erect, when he uttered the first sentence, when he started to prepare food by fire, when he used the first tools. These steps forward are momentous events in the history of mankind, but they were not achieved suddenly, they did not burst out like Athene from the head of Zeus. Each one presents the results of a long and slow development.

Momentous events in man's progress.

Untold ages have passed since the first being appeared on our earth that we should call a man. His apelike ancestors had not yet acquired complete upright posture, although they used a partially upright position when

walking on the ground. The predecessor of man had to give up his arboreal life. Foot and hand developed, the head was borne erect. Since the hand no longer served for support in walking, it became free for the manifold uses for which it was later on employed. At the same time, the brain developed together with the manifold new requirements of the upright posture of the body. These events happened at a period before the ice covered a large part of the northern hemisphere. We cannot determine the geological period with certainty, but it seems likely that the first men appeared towards the end of the Tertiary Period, certainly not less than about 500,000 years ago. The features of these early men differed much from those of our contemporaries, and it is not until much later that we find beings whom we recognize as members of mankind.

Development of hand and brain.

The first appearance of men.

We cannot tell much about the accomplishments of these beings, for all that remains are some things they used that have withstood the ravages of time. Apes may use sticks and stones, but they do not fashion tools. Man, at least 100,000 years ago, had learned to fashion stones as tools. He had learned to break off, by pounding, chips from brittle stones to make them handier for his use. The possibility of shaping natural objects to serve specific purposes was an event of fundamental importance in the history of mankind.

Early man's use of tools.

Did man of this period speak? We cannot answer this question. All we can say is that the development of

emotional utterance of sounds by animals to the use of articulate sounds to designate specific situations and specific objects was one of the great events in the life of mankind. It must have taken a long time to develop speech so that it did not merely call attention to some situation for the purpose of inducing an action on the part of others—like a signal advising the group of approaching danger. Its purposes widened, and with the development of the ability to coordinate "words" by the creation of grammar, new social uses of language were fulfilled. We may now ask the question "Who invented language and when was it invented?" Language was a slow growth that must have begun in the early time of the shaping of tools and which developed independently wherever man lived. The languages of the most primitive tribes of our times are so complex and exhibit such a nicety of conceptual distinctions that it is difficult to understand how these developed. In many cases the points of view expressed in our languages appear coarse as compared to those of primitive languages. Instead of singular and plural, that is one or more than one objects of a kind, we find forms expressing one, two, three or more. Instead of present, past and future, we find often a long array of time discriminations including such ideas as momentary, continued or repeated action: all languages known have a complex grammar. Grammar is indispensable when situations are to be communicated and its beginnings belong to a very early period.

Speech and the invention of language.

Structure in primitive languages.

Fitting material objects together.

After the invention of modifying the form of a natural object to make it handier for use, a great step forward was made when the first attempt was made to fit two natural objects together to make a serviceable tool. The invention of the handle was thus made. When the handle part of the chipped pebble was wrapped with fiber to a long handle to make the blow more effective, the ground was laid for the invention of the most complex tools. The time of the first joining together of parts to form a tool cannot be determined, but it must have occurred quite early.

Importance of the use of fire.

One of the greatest events in early prehistoric times was the discovery of the use of fire. Evidence of the use of fire is found in remains that date at least 50,000 years back. We do not know how much earlier it was used. Fire may have become known to man through lightning strokes that set woods afire, or through volcanic eruptions, but it required rare courage and insight to tame this dangerous phenomenon. In the rigorous time of the ice age, far enough from the edge of the glaciers where trees were growing, or in a volcanic area, the warmth of the fire after a great conflagration may have

Fire kept by primitive tribes.

attracted man and he may have kept alive the glowing firebrand to kindle it into new flame wherever he camped. Even now many primitive tribes prefer to keep fire in some kind of tinder, rather than start a new fire.

To find fire useful was one important event. Still more important was the discovery that fire could be made!

We must imagine a time when the tools of man had been perfected so that drilling and sawing of wood became part of the regular industrial routine. Then it was probably found that after energetic drilling or cutting the accumulated wood-dust began to glow, and based on previous experience of keeping fire in a slow match, some ingenious person started a new fire from the glowing sparks. This was an event of the first magnitude, for it enabled man to brave many hostile terrors.

Tools for drilling and sawing wood.

Animals devour their food in the state in which it is offered to them by nature. Man prefers food roasted by the fire or in ashes or boiled in water. Why man began to prepare his food by means of fire is a question that we shall probably never be able to answer. It is conceivable that after a forest or prairie fire the bodies of animals were found roasted and a welcome prey for the hungry hunter, but it is not easy to see why such an occasional find should have changed the entire diet. The effect of a prairie fire also made various kinds of roots edible which without having been exposed to fire could not be used for food. Very likely events of this kind led to the development of the preparation of food by fire. Evidences of hearths are found at the end of the earlier old stone age, probably about 50,000 years ago.

Roasting and boiling of food.

Importance of development of cookery.

The art of cookery seems a still more wonderful invention. How should man ever have discovered the art of boiling water? The method of cookery of almost all primitive people who have no fireproof vessels is to heat

stones in an open fire and to throw the red hot stones into a vessel containing water until the water comes to a boil. Where can early man have made any observations that led him to adopt this method and that could teach him that boiling water could be used to make his food palatable? The only conceivable experience would be the effect of a stream of lava which might have reached a pond and brought the water to a boil. The boiled fish might have given the suggestion of the use of boiled water. This is, of course, mere speculation. The discovery of the use of water for boiling remains one of the great mysteries in the development of human culture. Besides the discovery of the usefulness of boiling water it implies the knowledge of the use of vessels. The development of the kitchen of prehistoric man must have taken a long time and must have passed through the stages of raw, roasted and boiled food.

How a knowledge of cookery may have been acquired.

During the period when the use of fire was discovered, perhaps even earlier, man learned to protect himself against the inclemencies of climate by the use of clothing. Since animals are in the habit of making nests we may assume that a rude kind of habitation preceded the use of clothing. We have no evidence that in early times skins were sewed together, but they may have been cut in suitable forms.

Clothing and shelter secured.

After the art of shaping brittle stones had been acquired the technique developed steadily. While the earliest implements were rude and a single form served all

purposes, tools for battering, cutting and scraping were gradually differentiated.

The technique of making stone tools.

In Europe, there was apparently a break of great historic significance which happened about 25,000 years ago. A new type of man invaded the continent and gradually supplanted the race which had inhabited the continent up to that period. A new, more refined method of making flint tools was introduced and with them appeared a great variety of bone implements and ornaments and a highly developed artistic sense which found expression in the ornamentation of utensils and in the graphic and plastic representation of animals. There is no reason to suppose that the cultural achievements of this period differed in value essentially from those of a modern tribe like the Eskimo. Their artistic achievements were of a high order. While many seem to be simply expressions of an esthetic impulse there are others that suggest a religious motive for their execution. It is impossible to tell what ideas in regard to the supernatural these people may have had, but the drawings themselves indicate that they had ceremonies and dances in which supernatural beings were represented.

Development of ornamentation.

Esthetic and religious expression.

In later times there was a decay of this art and with the end of the ice age an era of new discoveries and inventions dawned. Up to this time man lived entirely on the produce of the chase and presumably on vegetable products such as roots, bulbs and fruits gathered by the women. His working tools were of brittle stone, partic-

Materials of primitive arts and industries.

ularly flint and bone. During the later periods of the ice age bone was extensively used for harpoons, and other implements. Needles were made of bone and ivory which presumably served for sewing skins. The body was adorned with objects made of stone, ivory, antlers or shells. In short we see a culture such as may be found nowadays among some primitive people. This was about 10,000 years ago—more or less.

Development of new methods.

A new way of handling stone arose about this time. The neatly chipped flint implements no longer satisfied the demands of the people and the polishing of the uneven surfaces was invented. Other hard and tough stones were battered into shape and smoothed by grinding. Still, flint continued to be one of the most important materials for utensils. When the supply of good material became scarce, man began to sink mines and to dig the nodules out of the soft matrix in which they were imbedded.

Women the agriculturists.

The most important event of this time was the development of agriculture and the domestication of animals. We can only infer by a study of primitive forms of culture how these discoveries came about. Among all primitive tribes the securing of vegetable food is the work of women. Therefore only women were thoroughly familiar with the handling of plants. We may imagine that they were familiar with the sprouting of seeds. Maybe the people lived near a region prolific in game and plants so that the women were in contact with the

same prolific field which they guarded and that in this way they were prompted to assist nature by seeing to it that the whole field was well provided with seeds. The men on their part were hunters, familiar with the habits of animals. Out of their constant occupation with the large herds on which they lived, and perhaps by protecting them against wild beasts that threatened to disperse the animals on which they relied for their own sustenance the early beginnings of domestication may have developed.

Hunting and final domestication of animals.

With the introduction of cultivation of plants and domestication of animals new forms of life developed. Man became more sedentary and it became possible to accumulate a more bulky assortment of household goods.

A most important event in this period of transition to a settled life was the invention of pottery. There is no trace of pottery in the period preceding the end of the ice age. In the new stone age this art was invented and became an important element in the life of the people. Now it was possible to keep provisions in vessels of pottery and to prepare meals over the fire. In earlier times timid attempts were made to boil in fragile containers of hide or bark, but the use of fire for culinary purposes became ever so much more varied and important when vessels were made that could not be destroyed by heat.

The importance of pottery.

In early agriculture all work was done by the hand of man. The soil was dug up with sharp, hard sticks or

Primitive farming.

The plough invented.

with stone hoes. There was no plough drawn by domesticated animals. The occupations of man and woman were still sharply distinct. The herder did not know how to make his animals helpmates of his wife. All this changed with the invention of the plough. Now part of the agricultural work was taken over by the man and new forms of domestic arrangements followed.

Concern for the dead.

At an early time during the new stone age man must have been deeply concerned about the fate of the dead, for structures built of heavy large boulders were erected in which the remains of the dead were placed, while the living occupied flimsy dwellings made of wood, bark and similar materials.

Metal working.

This period may have ended about 3500 B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean, about 2500 B.C. in Western Europe. In many parts of the world, for instance in New Guinea, it continues up to our time. The great event that ushered in new developments was the discovery of the use of metals. In the beginning implements were hammered out of native copper, as is still done by some Indian and Eskimo tribes of Northwestern Canada. Later the art of making bronze by melting copper and tin was learned. Household utensils, implements and weapons took on new forms and a life developed which is described in the earliest written records and which led on to the period in which the smelting of iron was invented. Thus man reached by arduous steps those levels of culture with which documentary history begins.

THE DELUGE

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT

THE one tradition which is really universal among those bearing on the history of primitive man is that of the Deluge. It would, perhaps, be too much to say that it is found among all people; but it occurs among all the great races of the human species, with one important exception, the black race, among whom no trace of the tradition has been found, either among the African tribes or the populations of Polynesia. This absolute silence of a whole race as to the memory of an event so important, in the face of the unanimous voice of all the others, is a fact which science should carefully note, for it may involve most important consequences.

Universality of the Deluge.

But we must first eliminate some legends which have been erroneously connected with the Biblical Deluge, whose essential features, however, compel sound criticism to reject them. They refer only to merely local phenomena, of a historical date, relatively very near our own. Such is the character of the great inundation

Chinese flood not related.

placed by the historical records of China under the reign of Yao. It has no real connection with, and not even any resemblance to, the Biblical Deluge; it was an event purely local, and its date even can be determined as long subsequent to the commencement of historical times in Egypt and Babylon.

A South American legend.

Not less clear is the local character of the legend of Bochica related by the Muyscas, ancient inhabitants of the province of Cundinamarca, in South America, though the fabulous element is here in greater proportion to the historical foundation. Huythaca, wife of the divine man Bochica, gave herself up to abominable sorceries, to cause the river Funzha to leave its bed. All the plain of Bogota was inundated, men and animals perished in this catastrophe, a few only escaped by reaching the high mountains. The tradition adds that Bochica broke open the rocks which form the valley of Canoas and Tequendama, to allow of the escape of the waters; afterward he reassembled the dispersed people of the Muyscas tribe, taught them the worship of the sun, and died.

Of all the true traditions relative to the great Deluge, by far the most curious is that of the Chaldeans, made known to the Greeks by the historian Berosus. It is a story more exactly parallel to that of the Bible than any other, omitting no characteristic particular in the detail, even to the birds sent out of the ark. It must be evident to any one who compares the two narratives that they

were one up to the time when Abraham went out from among the Chaldeans to journey to Palestine. But in the Chaldean cosmogony, the tradition embodies no moral lesson, as does the Bible narrative. The Deluge is but an accidental event, a sort of fatal accident in the history of the world, in place of being a punishment sent for the sins of mankind. The man chosen by heaven to escape the Deluge is called by Berosus, Xisuthrus, a name the original form of which we do not know, and therefore can not guess its meaning. The Chaldean legend adds one incident, not to be found in the Bible: Xisuthrus, warned by the gods of the approaching Deluge, buried at Sippara, the city of the Sun, tables, on which were engraven the revelation of the mysteries of the origin of the world, and of religious ordinances. His children dug them up after the Deluge, and they became the basis of the sacerdotal institutions of Chaldea. On the other hand, the original monuments and texts of Egypt, amid all their speculations on the cosmogony, do not contain one single, even distant, allusion to the recollection of a Deluge.

The Chaldean legend.

Egyptian monuments contain no allusion.

The importance of the tradition of the Deluge among all the Aryan people is the greater when we remember that the name of "Noah," unlike those of the other primitive patriarchs, bears no appropriate meaning in any of the Semitic idioms, and appears to derive its origin from some one of the languages of the Aryan stock. Its fundamental root is *Na,* to which in all the

The name Noah connected with water.

languages of the latter race, is attached the meaning of water—νάειν, to flow, νάμα, water, νήχειν, to swim; Nympha, Neptunus, water deities, Nix, Nick, the Undine of the northern races. It seems then to have been applied by tradition, precisely on account of the Deluge, to that righteous man who was spared by the Divine will, and may consequently be compared to the name Ogyges, embodying a similar idea, which one of the forms of the Greek legend connects with the Deluge.

This observation on the probability of an Aryan origin for the name of Noah makes it easy to see why we find it, with the slight modification of a reduplication of the first syllable, in that of the King Nannachus, under whom the Phrygian tradition placed the Deluge. The memory of this event had a great place in the legends of Phrygia. The city of Apamea drew from it its surname of "Kibotos," or "Ark," professing to be the place where the Ark rested. Also the history of Noah, with his name, was inscribed on certain medals which issued from the mint of Apamea in the Third Century of our era, when Christian ideas had spread over all the Roman world and begun to infuse themselves into the minds of those even who remained attached to Paganism.

The Phrygian legend.

The Mexican legend.

Among the American legends on the Deluge, the most important are those of Mexico, as they existed in a written and definite form previous to any contact with Europeans. Don Fernando d'Alva Extililxochitl, in his history of the Chichimeques, entirely founded on native

documents, says that, according to the traditions of that people, the first age, called Atonatiuh, that is, "The Sun of the Waters," was terminated by a universal deluge. The Noah of the Mexican cataclysm is Coxcox, called by some people Teo Cipactli, or Tezpi. He saved himself with his wife, Xochiquetzal, in a bark, or, according to other traditions, a raft of cypress wood.

The Peruvian tradition.

The Peruvians, whose civilization was not below that of the Mexicans, also had a tradition of the Deluge, and placed that event under King Viracocho, first of the Incas of Cuzco. The traditions of those American tribes who remained in a savage state must, from their very nature, be to a certain extent open to doubt.

The following is the translation by Max Müller of a Sanscrit poem of the age immediately following the Vedic period, called the Satapathabrahmana:

"To Manu they brought in the morning water to wash. As they bring it with their hands for the washing, a fish comes into the hands of Manu as soon as he had washed himself.

Story of Manu.

"He spoke to Manu the word: 'Keep me, I shall preserve thee.' Manu said: 'From what wilt thou preserve me?' The fish said: 'The flood will carry away all these creatures. I shall preserve thee from it.' 'How canst thou be kept?' said Manu. The fish replied: 'As long as we are small there is much destruction for us; fish swallows fish. First, then, thou must keep me in a jar. If I outgrow it, dig a hole and keep me in it. If I outgrow this,

take me to the sea, and I shall be saved from destruction.'

"He soon became a large fish. He said to Manu: 'When I am full grown, in the same year the flood will come. Build a ship, then, and worship me; and when the flood rises go to the ship, and I shall preserve thee from it.'

Manu builds a ship.

"Manu brought the fish to the sea, after he had kept him thus. And in the year which the fish had pointed out Manu had built a ship, and worshipped the fish. Then when the flood had risen he went into the ship. The fish came swimming to him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to a horn of the fish. The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain. The fish said: 'I have preserved thee. Bind the ship to a tree. May the water not cut thee asunder while thou art on the mountain. As the water wilt sink thou wilt slide down.' Manu slid down with the water, and this is called the Slope of Manu on the northern mountain. The flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone."

Manu then was saved; and then he offered the sacrifice, to be "the model for all future generations." By this sacrifice he obtained a daughter, named Ida, or Ila, who became supernaturally the mother of humanity. Manu received the title of "Father of mankind" (*Manush pitar*), and his name even became their generic appellation for men, who are called *Manor apatya,* "descendants

of Manu," and Manu means "the intelligent being, Man."

The Greeks had two different traditions as to the Deluge which destroyed primitive humanity. With the first was connected the name of Ogyges, the first king of Attica, an entirely mythical personage, who is lost in the mist of ages; his name even is derived from the primitive designation of the Deluge (Sanscrit *augha*). It was reported that in his time all the country was covered by the Deluge, and that the waters reached even to the heavens, and that he escaped in a vessel with some companions. The second tradition is the Thessalian story of Deucalion. Zeus having resolved to destroy the men of the age of bronze, whose crimes had excited his wrath, Deucalion by the advice of Prometheus, his father, constructed an ark, in which he took refuge with his wife Pyrrha. The Deluge came; the ark floated above the waters for nine days and nine nights, and was at last left stranded on Mount Parnassus. Deucalion and Pyrrha came out, offered a sacrifice, and repeopled the world, according to the orders of Jupiter, by casting behind them the *bones of the earth,* that is, stones which were changed into men. This Greek tradition is worthy of notice, as, like that in the Book of Genesis, it records the moral cause of the catastrophe—the destruction of wicked men, which the Indian legend does not allude to.

The Greek traditions.

Among the Celts in Great Britain there was a similar tradition. "The first misfortune," says an ancient Welsh

The Celtic version.

poem, "was the overflow of the *Llynn-llion,* or lake of waves, and the occurrence of a great inundation, by which all men were destroyed, with the exception of Dwyfan and Dwyfach, who saved themselves in a vessel without sails, by them the island of Britain was repeopled." In the Scandinavian Edda, the three sons of Borr, Odin, Vili, and Ve, grandsons of Bure, the first man, kill Ymir, father of the ice-giants, from whose body they make the earth. Blood runs from his wounds in such abundance that all the race of giants is destroyed, except Begelmir, who saves himself in a ship with his wife, and repeoples the earth.

The Lithuanian Deluge.

The Lithuanians, the one of the Japhetic races whose language has sustained least alteration, related, before their conversion to Christianity, that the god Pramzimas, seeing the earth full of disorder, sent two giants, Wandu and Wejas (water and wind), to destroy it. They overturned everything in their rage; only a few men saved themselves on a mountain. Touched with compassion, Pramzimas, who was then eating some of the nuts of heaven, let fall near the mountain a nutshell, in which men took refuge, and which the giants dared not touch. Having thus escaped this disaster, mankind afterward dispersed. Only one very old couple remained in the country, and they were in distress at not having any children. Pramzimas sent a rainbow to give them hope, and told them to dance on the *bones of the earth,* for the Lithuanian legend employs here the same expression as

that of Deucalion. The aged couple jumped nine times, and the result was nine couples, who became the ancestors of the nine Lithuanian tribes.

We see that each of the Japhetic races, who, starting from the common centre of Bactria, dispersed themselves over the earth in various directions, has added to the groundwork of the original tradition ornaments more or less puerile. But the groundwork, in spite of all additions, remains the same, and contains all the essential features of the Biblical narrative—a deluge destroying the human race as a punishment for its sins, except one righteous man, chosen by Providence to escape with his family from this disaster, and to repeople the earth.

Egypt and Assyria.

[According to Egyptian tradition, the old Empire is founded by Menes, B.C. 3000. The Shepherd Kings (Hyksos) conquer Egypt about 2100 and are finally driven out about B.C. 1650. Egypt attains her zenith in art and industry under Rameses II. (19th dynasty) about 1350. This king probably is the oppressor of the Israelites. During this period the great rival Empire is that of Assyria. The great religious systems are gradually developing: Judaism in Palestine and Zoroastrianism further East. The worship of Apollo and the pre-eminence of his oracle at Delphi assume importance in Greece.]

THE FOUNDING OF CHALDEA

(B.C. 2250)

GEORGE RAWLINSON

THE establishment of a Cushite kingdom in Lower Babylonia dates probably from (at least) the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth century before our era. Greek traditions assigned to the city of Babylon an antiquity nearly as remote; and the native historian, Berosus, spoke of a Chaldean dynasty as bearing rule anterior to B.C. 2250. Unfortunately the works of this great authority have been lost; and even the general outline of his chronological scheme, whereof some writers have left us an account, is to a certain extent imperfect; so that, in order to obtain a definite chronology for the early times, we are forced to have recourse, in some degree, to conjecture. Berosus declared that six dynasties had reigned in Chaldea since the great flood of Xisusthrus, or Noah. To the first, which consisted of 86 kings, he allowed the extravagant period of 34,080 years. Evechoüs, the founder of the dynasty, had enjoyed the royal dignity for 2,400 years, and Chomasbêlus, his son and

The Cushite kingdom.

Difficulties of computing.

successor, had reigned 300 years longer than his father. The other 84 monarchs had filled up the remaining space of 28,980 years—their reigns thus averaging 345 years apiece. It is clear that these numbers are unhistoric; and though it would be easy to reduce them within the limits of credibility by arbitrary suppositions —as, for instance, that the years of the narrative represent months or days—yet it may reasonably be doubted whether we should in this way be doing any service to the cause of historic truth. The names Evechoüs and Chomasbêlus seem mythic rather than real; they represent personages in the Babylonian Pantheon, and can scarcely have been borne by men. It is likely that the entire series of names partook of the same character, and that, if we possessed them, their bearing would be found to be, not historic, but mythological. We may parallel this dynasty of Berosus, where he reckons kings' reigns by the cyclical periods of *sosses* and *ners,* with Manetho's dynasties of Gods and Demigods in Egypt, where the sum of years is nearly as great.

From the early authorities.

Early dynasties enveloped in myth and mist.

Chaldean history may therefore be regarded as opening upon us at a time anterior, at any rate, by a century or two, to B.C. 2286. It was then that Nimrod, the son or descendant of Cush, set up a kingdom in Lower Mesopotamia, which attracted the attention of surrounding nations. The people, whom he led, came probably by sea; at any rate, their earliest settlements were on the coast; and Ur or Hur, on the right bank of the Euphrates, at

Beginning of Chaldean history.

a very short distance from its embouchure, was the primitive capital. The "mighty hunter" rapidly spread his dominion inland, subduing or expelling the various tribes by which the country was previously occupied. His kingdom extended northward, at least as far as Babylon, which (as well as Erech or Huruk, Accad, and Calneh) was first founded by this monarch. Further historical details of his reign are wanting; but the strength of his character and the greatness of his achievements are remarkably indicated by a variety of testimonies, which place him among the foremost men of the Old World, and guarantee him a never-ending remembrance. At least as early as the time of Moses his name had passed into a proverb. He was known as "the mighty hunter before the Lord"—an expression which had probably a double meaning, implying at once skill and bravery in the pursuit and destruction of wild beasts, and also a genius for war and success in his aggressions upon men. In his own nation he seems to have been deified, and to have continued down to the latest times one of the leading objects of worship, under the title of *Bilu-Nipru* or Bel-Nimrod, which may be translated "the god of the chase," or "the great hunter." One of his capitals, Calneh, which was regarded as his special city, appears afterward to have been known by his name (probably as being the *chief* seat of his worship in the early times); and this name it still retains, slightly corrupted. In the modern Niffer we may recognize the Talmudical

Nimrod, son or descendant of Cush, B.C. 2286.

Nopher, and the Assyrian *Nipur* which is *Nipru,* with a mere metathesis of the two final letters. The fame of Nimrod has always been rife in the country of his domination. Arab writers record a number of remarkable traditions, in which he plays a conspicuous part; and there is little doubt but that it is in honor of his apotheosis that the constellation Orion bears in Arabian astronomy the title of *El Jabbar,* or "the giant." Even at the present day his name lives in the mouth of the people inhabiting Chaldea and the adjacent regions, whose memory of ancient heroes is almost confined to three—Nimrod, Solomon, and Alexander. Wherever a mound of ashes is to be seen in Babylonia or the adjoining countries, the local traditions attach to it the name of *Nimrud* or *Nimrod;* and the most striking ruins now existing in the Mesopotamian valley, whether in its upper or its lower portion, are made in this way monuments of his glory.

The Arabian constellation, El Jabbar.

Of the immediate successors of Nimrod we have no account that even the most lenient criticism can view as historical. It appears that his conquest was followed rapidly by a Semitic emigration from the country—an emigration which took a northerly direction. The Assyrians withdrew from Babylonia, which they still always regarded as their parent land, and, occupying the upper or non-alluvial portion of the Mesopotamian plain, commenced the building of great cities in a tract upon the middle Tigris. The Phenicians removed from the

The Semitic emigration.

shores of the Persian Gulf, and, journeying toward the northwest, formed settlements upon the coast of Canaan, where they became a rich and prosperous people. The family of Abraham, and probably other Aramean families, ascended the Euphrates, withdrawing from a yoke which was oppressive, or at any rate unpleasant. Abundant room was thus made for the Cushite emigrants, who rapidly established their preponderance over the whole of the southern region. As war ceased to be the necessary daily occupation of the new-comers, civilization and the arts of life began to appear. The reign of the "Hunter" was followed, after no long time, by that of the "Builder." A monumental king, whose name is read doubtfully as Urkham or Urukh, belongs almost certainly to this early dynasty, and may be placed next in succession, though at what interval we can not say, to Nimrod. He is beyond question the earliest Chaldean monarch of whom any remains have been obtained in the country. Not only are his bricks found in a lower position than any others, at the very foundations of buildings, but they are of a rude and coarse make, and the inscriptions upon them contrast more remarkably, in the simplicity of the style of writing used and in their general archaic type, with the elaborate and often complicated symbols of the later monarchs. The style of Urukh's buildings is also primitive and simple in the extreme; his bricks are of many sizes, and ill fitted together; he belongs to a time when even the baking of

Nimrod's successor, Urukh.

The style of Urukh's buildings.

bricks seems to have been comparatively rare, for sometimes he employs only the sun-dried material; and he is altogether unacquainted with the use of lime mortar, for which his substitute is moist mud, or else bitumen. There can be little doubt that he stands at the head of the present series of monumental kings, another of whom probably reigned as early as B.C. 2286. As he was succeeded by a son, whose reign seems to have been of the average length, we must place his accession at least as early as B.C. 2326. Possibly it may have fallen a century earlier.

The gigantic temples built in this reign.

It is as a builder of gigantic works that Urukh is chiefly known to us. The basement platforms of his temples are of an enormous size; and though they can not seriously be compared with the Egyptian pyramids, yet indicate the employment for many years of a vast amount of human labor in a very unproductive sort of industry. The Bowariyeh mound at Warka is two hundred feet square, and about one hundred feet high. Its cubic contents, as originally built, can have been little, if, at all, under three million feet; and above thirty million of bricks must have been used in its construction. Constructions of a similar character, and not very different in their dimensions, are proved by the bricks composing them to have been raised by the same monarch at Ur, Calneh or Nipur, and Larancha or Larsa, which is perhaps Ellasar. It is evident, from the size and number of these works, that their erector had the com-

mand of a vast amount of "naked human strength," and did not scruple to employ that strength in constructions from which no material benefit was derivable, but which were probably designed chiefly to extend his own fame and perpetuate his glory. We may gather from this that he was either an oppressor of his people, like some of the Pyramid Kings in Egypt, or else a conqueror, who thus employed the numerous captives carried off in his expeditions. Perhaps the latter is the more probable supposition; for the builders of the great fabrics in Babylonia and Chaldea do not seem to have left behind them any character of oppressiveness, such as attaches commonly to those monarchs who have ground down their own people by servile labor.

Probability of his employing captives.

The great buildings of Urukh appear to have been all designed for temples. They are carefully placed with their angles facing the cardinal points, and are dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, to Belus (Bel-Nimrod), or to Beltis. The temple at Mugheir was built in honor of the Moon-God, *Sin* or *Hurki,* who was the tutelary deity of the city. The Warka temple was dedicated to Beltis. At Calneh or Nipur, Urukh erected two temples, one to Beltis and one to Belus. At Larsa or Ellasar the object of his worship was the Sun-God, San or Sansi. He would thus seem to have been no special devotee of a single god, but to have divided out his favors very fairly among the chief personages of the Pantheon.

Temples dedicated to the Moon-god and Sun-god.

We are further, perhaps, justified in concluding, from

the careful emplacement of Urukh's temples, that the science of astronomy was already cultivated in his reign, and was regarded as having a certain connection with religion. We have seen that the early worship of the Chaldeans was to a great extent astral—a fact which naturally made the heavenly bodies special objects of attention. If the series of observations which Callisthenes sent to Aristotle, dating from B.C. 2234, was in reality a record, and not a mere calculation backward of the dates at which certain celestial phenomena must have taken place, astronomical studies must have been pretty well advanced at a period not long subsequent to Urukh.

The Chaldeans as star-worshippers naturally cultivate astronomy.

This monarchy which we have had under review is one, no doubt, rather curious from its antiquity than illustrious from its great names, or admirable for the extent of its dominions. Less ancient than the Egyptian, it claims the advantage of priority over every empire or kingdom which has grown up upon the soil of Asia. The Aryan, Turanian, and even the Semitic tribes, appear to have been in the nomadic condition when the Cushite settlers in Lower Babylonia betook themselves to agriculture, erected temples, built cities, and established a strong and settled government. The leaven which was to spread by degrees through the Asiatic peoples was first deposited on the shores of the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the "Great River"; and hence civilization, science, letters, art, extended themselves northward, and eastward, and westward. Assyria, Media, Semitic

Importance of the Chaldean empire.

Babylonia, Persia, as they derived from Chaldea the character of their writing, so were they indebted to the same country for their general notions of government and administration, for their architecture, their decorative art, and still more for their science and literature. Each people no doubt modified in some measure the boon received, adding more or less of its own to the common inheritance. But Chaldea stands forth as the great parent and original inventress of Asiatic civilization, without any rival that can reasonably dispute her claims.

Chaldea the parent of Asiatic civilization.

The great men of the Empire are Nimrod, Urukh, and Chedorlaomer. Nimrod, the founder, has the testimony of Scripture that he was "a mighty one in the earth"; "a mighty hunter"; the establisher of a "kingdom," when kingdoms had scarcely begun to be known; the builder of four great and famous cities—"Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar," or Mesopotamia. To him belongs the merit of selecting a site peculiarly fitted for the development of a great power in the early ages of the world, and of binding men together into a community which events proved to possess within it the elements of prosperity and permanence.

Chaldea's great men.

Nimrod the founder.

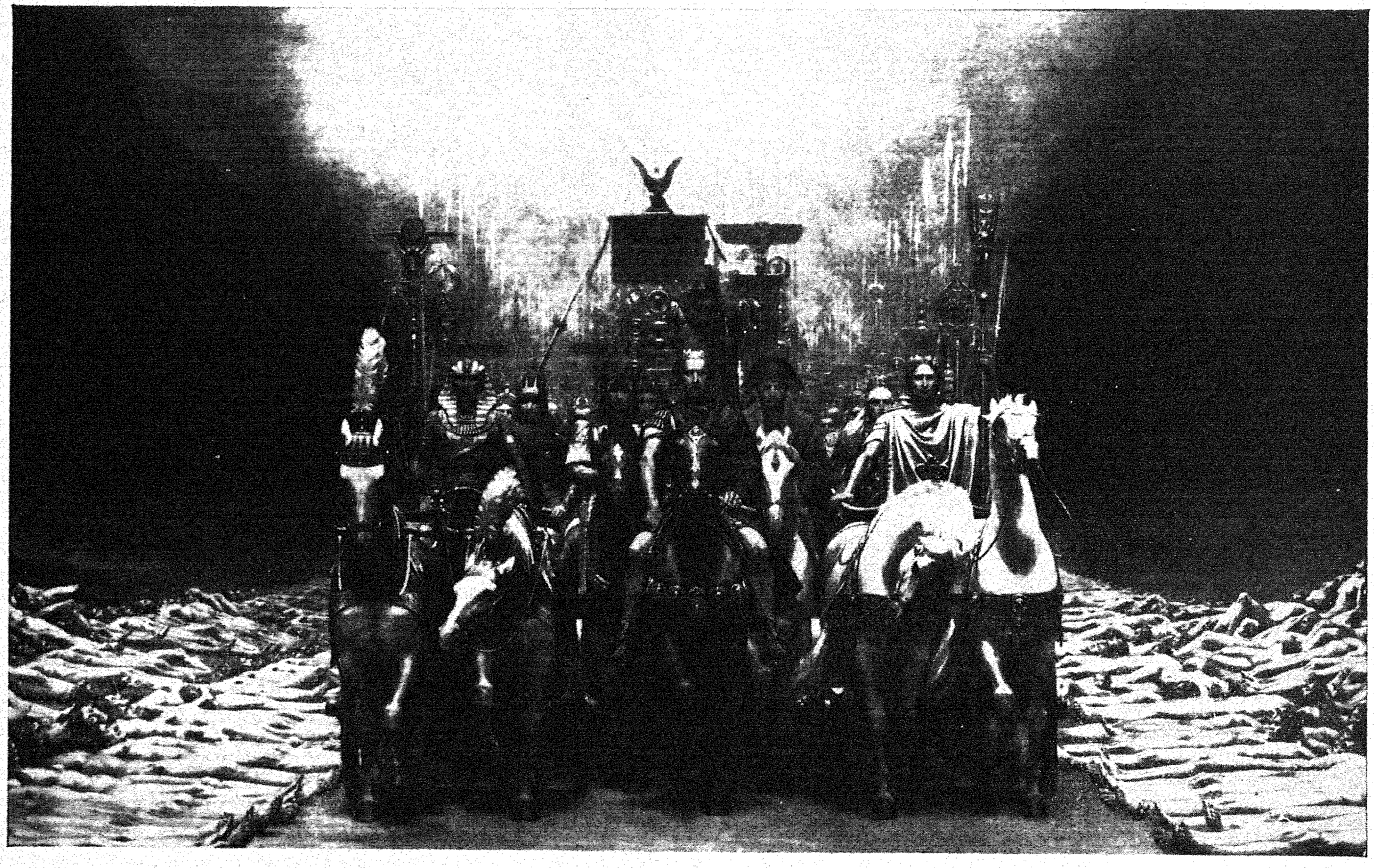
Whether Nimrod had, indeed, the rebellious and apostate character which numerous traditions, Jewish, Arabian, and Armenian, assign to him; whether he was in reality concerned in the building of the tower related

in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Genesis,[1] we have no means of positively determining. The language of Scripture with regard to Nimrod is laudatory rather than the contrary; and it would seem to have been from a misapprehension of the *nexus* of the Mosaic narrative that the traditions above mentioned originated. Nimrod, "the migthy hunter *before the Lord*," had not in the days of Moses that ill reputation which attached to him in later ages, when he was regarded as the great Titan or Giant, who made war upon the gods, and who was at once the builder of the tower, and the persecutor who forced Abraham to quit his original country. It is at least doubtful whether we ought to allow any weight at all to the additions and embellishments with which the later writers, so much wiser than Moses, have overlaid the simplicity of his narrative.

Urukh the builder.

Urukh, whose fame may possibly have reached the Romans, was the great Chaldean *architect*. To him belongs, apparently, the conception of the Babylonian temple, with its rectangular base, carefully placed so as to present its angles to the four cardinal points, its receding stages, its buttresses, its drains, its sloped walls, its external staircases for ascent, and its ornamental shrine crowning the whole. At any rate, if he was not the first to conceive and erect such structures, he set the example of building them on such a scale and with such

[1] The Tower of Babel.



THE CONQUERORS

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRITEL

solidity as to secure their long continuance, and render them well-nigh imperishable.

Kudur-Lagamer, the conqueror

The great builder was followed shortly by the great *conqueror,* Kudur-Lagamer, the Elamitic prince, who, more than twenty centuries before our era, having extended his dominion over Babylonia and the adjoining regions, marched an army a distance of 1,200 miles from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Dead Sea, and held Palestine and Syria in subjection for twelve years, thus effecting conquests which were not again made from the same quarter till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fifteen or sixteen hundred years afterward, has a good claim to be regarded as one of the most remarkable personages in the world's history—being, as he is, the forerunner and prototype of all those great Oriental conquerors who from time to time have built up vast empires in Asia out of heterogeneous materials, which have in a longer or shorter space successively crumbled to decay. At a time when the kings of Egypt had never ventured beyond their borders, unless it were for a foray in Ethiopia, and when in Asia no monarch had held dominion over more than a few petty tribes, and a few hundred miles of territory, he conceived the magnificent notion of binding into one the manifold nations inhabiting the vast tract which lies between the Zagos mountain-range and the Mediterreanean. Lord by inheritance (as we may presume) of Elam and Chaldea or Babylonia, he was not content with these ample tracts, but coveting more, pro-

His ideas of expansion of the empire.

His influence upon future ages.

ceeded boldly on a career of conquest up the Euphrates valley, and through Syria into Palestine. Successful here, he governed for twelve years dominions extending near a thousand miles from east to west, and from north to south, probably not much short of five hundred. It is true that he was not able to *hold* this large extent of territory; but the attempt and the success temporarily attending it are memorable circumstances, and were probably long held in remembrance through Western Asia, where they served as a stimulus and incentive to the ambition of later monarchs.

ZOROASTER

(ABOUT B.C. 1000)

JAMES DARMESTETER

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty,[1] and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God,[2] or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, nearly all the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at

The religion of the Parsis.

Defeat of the Parsis and their emigration.

[1] At the battle of Nihâvand, 642.

[2] Ahura Mazda.

last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat.[3] They throve, and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away.[4]

Small records of the sacred writings.

As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendor. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologist, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the

Value of the Avesta.

[3] They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 150,000 souls.

[4] A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but there now remain no more than 8,000 or nearly 9,000 souls, scattered in the Yizd, and the surrounding villages.

Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Monumental period of religious thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old foe of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle, Hermippus, and many others wrote of it in books of which unfortunately nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotus down to Agathias and Procopius. It was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era; but that study had no longer anything of the disinterested and almost scientific character it had in earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster.

Early study of the Parsi religion by Greeks and Christians.

Mazdeism has often been called Zoroaster's religion in the same sense as Islam is called Mohammed's religion, that is, as being the work of a man named Zoroaster, a view which was favored, not only by the Parsi and Greek accounts, but by the strong unity and symmetry of the whole system. Moreover, as the moral and abstract spirit which pervades Mazdeism is different from the Vedic spirit, and as the word deva, which means a god in Sanscrit, means a demon in the Avesta, it was thought that Zoroaster's work had been a work of reaction against Indian polytheism, in fact, a religious

schism. When he lived no one knows, and every one agrees that all that the Parsis and the Greeks tell of him is mere legend, through which no solid historical facts can be arrived at. The question is whether Zoroaster was a man converted into a god, or a god converted into a man. No one who reads with a mind free from the yoke of classical recollections, I do not say the book of Zoroaster (which may be charged with being a modern romance of recent invention), but the Avesta itself, will have any doubt that Zoroaster is no less an essential part of the Mazdean mythology than the son expected to be born to him, at the end of time, to destroy Ahriman.

Mazdeism often called the religion of Zoroaster.

Zoroaster is not described as one who brings new truth and drives away error, but as one who overthrows the demons; he is a smiter of fiends, like Verethraghna, Apâm Napât, Tistrya, Vayu, or Keresâpa, and he is stronger and more valiant than Keresâpa himself; the difference between him and them is that, whereas they smite the fiend with material weapons, he smites them chiefly with a spiritual one, the word or prayer. We say "chiefly" because the holy word is not his only weapon; he repels the assaults of Ahriman with stones as big as a house which Ahura has given to him, and which were furnished, no doubt, from the same quarry as the stones which are cast at their enemies by Indra, by Agni, by the Maruts, or by Thor, and which are "the flame, wherewith as a stone," the storm-god aims at the fiend. Therefore his birth, like the birth of every storm-god,

Zoroaster's connection with the storm-gods.

is longed for and hailed with joy as the signal of its deliverance by the whole living creation, because it is the end of the dark and arid reign of the demon: "In his birth, in his growth, did the floods and trees rejoice; in his birth, in his growth, the floods and trees did grow up; in his birth, in his growth, the floods and trees exclaimed with joy." Ahura himself longs for him and fears lest the hero about to be born may not stand by him: "He offered up a sacrifice to Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, he, the Maker, Ahura Mazda; he offered up the Haoma, the Myazda, the Baresma, the holy words, he besought her, saying: Vouchsafe me that boon, O high, mighty, undefiled goddess, that I may bring about the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zarathustra, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to work according to the law!" Ardvî Surâ Anâhita granted that boon to him who was offering up libations, sacrificing and beseeching.

Zarathustra stands by Ahura. The fiends come rushing along from hell to kill him, and fly away terrified by his *hvarenô:* Angra Mainyu himself is driven away by the stones he hurls at him. But the great weapon of Zarathustra is neither the thunder-stones he hurls, nor the glory with which he is surrounded, it is the Word.

The word is Zoroaster's weapon.

In the voice of the thunder the Greeks recognized the warning of a god which the wise understand, and they worshipped it as, ὄσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος, "the Word, messenger of Zeus"; the Romans worshipped it as a goddess,

Fama; India adores it as "the Voice in the cloud," Vâk Ambhrinî, which issues from the waters, from the forehead of the father, and hurls the deadly arrow against the foe of Brahma. So the word from above is either a weapon that kills, or a revelation that teaches: in the mouth of Zarathustra it is both: now "he smites down Angra Mainyu with the Ahuna vairya (Honover) as he would do with stones as big as a house, and he burns him up with the Ashem vohu as with melted brass"; now he converses with Ahura, on the mountain of the holy questions, in the forest of the holy questions. Any storm god whose voice descends from above to the earth may become a godlike messenger, a lawgiver, a Zarathustra. Nor is Zarathustra the only lawgiver, the only prophet, of whom the Avesta knows: Gayô Maratan, Yima, the bird Karsiptan, each of whom, under different names, forms, and functions, are one and the same being with Zarathustra; that is to say, the godlike champion in the struggle for light knew the law as well as Zarathustra. But as mythology, like language and life, likes to reduce every organ to one function, Zarathustra became the titulary lawgiver.

Voice of the thunder.

As he overwhelmed Angra Mainyu during his lifetime by his spell, he is to overwhelm him at the end of time by the hands of a son yet unborn. "Three times he came near unto his wife Hrôgvi, and three times the seed fell upon the ground. The Ized Neriosengh took what was bright and strong in it and intrusted it to the

Zoroaster, the lawgiver.

Ized Anâhita. At the appointed time, it will be united again with a maternal womb: 99,999 Fravashis of the faithful watch over it, lest the fiends destroy it." A maid bathing in the lake Kasava will conceive by it and bring forth the victorious Saoshyant (Sôshyôs), who will come from the region of the dawn to free the world from death and decay, from corruption and rottenness, ever living and ever thriving, when the dead shall rise and immortality commence.

Zoroaster's son, yet unborn, destined to conquer all evil.

All the features in Zarathustra point to a god: that the god may have grown up from a man, that pre-existent mythic elements may have gathered around the name of a man, born on earth, and by and by surrounded the human face with the aureole of a god, may of course be maintained, but only on condition that one may distinctly express what was the real work of Zoroaster. That he raised a new religion against the Vedic religion, and cast down into hell the gods of older days can no longer be maintained, since the gods, the ideas, and the worship of Mazdeism are shown to emanate directly from the old religion, and have nothing more of a reaction against it than Zend has against Sanscrit.

The religion of Zoroaster not a new religion.

Nowhere in the Avesta is the effort of any man felt who, standing against the belief of his people, enforces upon them a new creed, by the ascendency of his genius, and turns the stream of their thoughts from the bed wherein it had flowed for centuries. There was no religious revolution: there was only a long and slow move-

Evolution and growth of Mazdeism.

ment which led, by insensible degrees, the vague and unconscious dualism of the Indo-Iranian religion onward to the sharply defined dualism of the Magi.

It does not follow, hence, of course, that there was nothing left to individual genius in the formation of Mazdeism; the contrary is evident *à priori* from the fact that Mazdeism expresses the ideas of a sacerdotal caste. It sprang from the long elaboration of successive generations of priests, and that elaboration is so far from having been the work of one day and of one man that the exact symmetry which is the chief characteristic of Mazdeism is still imperfect in the Avesta on certain most important points. For instance, the opposition of six arch-fiends to the six arch gods which we find in Plutarch and in the Bundahis was still unknown when the Xth Fragard of the Vendîdâd and the XIXth Yast were composed, and the stars were not yet members of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the VIIIth Yast was written.

Philosophical inquiry into the principles of good and evil.

The reflective spirit that had given rise to Mazdeism never rested but continued to produce new systems; and there is hardly any religion in which slow growth and continual change is more apparent. When the Magi had accounted for the existence of evil by the existence of two principles, there arose the question how there could be two principles, and a longing for unity was felt, which found its satisfaction in the assumption that both are derived from one and the same principle. This prin-

ciple was, according to divers sects, either Space, or Infinite Light, or Boundless Time, or Fate.[5] Of most of these systems no direct trace is found in the Avesta, yet they existed already in the time of Aristotle.

They came at last to pure monotheism. Some forty years ago, when the Rev. Dr. Wilson was engaged in his controversy with the Parsis, some of his opponents repelled the charge of dualism by denying to Ahriman any real existence and making him a symbolical personification of bad instincts in man. It was not difficult for the Doctor to show that they were at variance with their sacred books, and critics in Europe occasionally wondered at the progress made by the Parsis in rationalism of the school of Voltaire and Gibbon. Yet there was no European influence at the bottom; and long before the Parsis had heard of Europe and Christianity, commentators, explaining the myth of Tahmurath, who rode for thirty years on Ahriman as a horse, interpreted the feat of the old legendary king as the curbing of evil passion and restraining the Ahriman in the heart of man. That idealistic interpretation was current as early as the Fifteenth Century, and is prevalent now with most of the Dasturs.[6] To what extent that alteration may have been

The Parsi religion a monotheistic one.

[5] All these four principles are only abstract forms of Ormazd himself, at least in his first naturalistic character of the Heaven God. Heaven is Infinite Space, it is Infinite Light, and by its movement it gives rise to Time and to Fate.

[6] "The Parsis are now strict monotheists, and whatever may have been the views of former philosophical writings, their one supreme deity is Ahura Mazda. Their views of Angra Mainyu seem to differ in no

Idealistic interpretation.

The Zoroastrian religion one of slow growth in prehistoric times.

influenced by Islamism, can hardly be decided; there are even some faint signs that it began at a time when the old religion was still flourishing; at any rate, no one can think of ascribing to one man, or to one time, that slow change from dualism to monotheism, which is, however, really deeper and wider than the movement which, in prehistoric times, brought the Magi from an imperfect form of dualism to one more perfect.

respect from what is supposed to be the orthodox Christian view of the devil." Haug's Essays. Mandelslo, in the Seventeenth Century, speaks of Parsîism as a monotheistic religion.

THE DELPHIC ORACLE

William Mitford

ON the southern side of Mount Parnassus, within the western border of Phocis against Locris, and at no great distance from the seaport towns of Crissa and Cirrha, the mountain crags form a natural amphitheatre difficult of access; in the midst of which a deep cavern discharged, from a narrow orifice, a vapor powerfully affecting the brain of those who came within its influence. This, we are told, was first brought to public notice by a goatherd, whose goats, browsing on the brink, were thrown into singular convulsions; upon which the man going to the spot and endeavoring to look into the chasm, became himself agitated like one frantic. These extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighborhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deity residing in the place. Frenzy of every kind, among the Greeks, even in more enlightened times, was supposed the effect of divine inspiration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic were regarded

Natural vapor on Mount Parnassus.

as prophetical. A spot, therefore, to which herdmen only and their goats had hitherto been accustomed to climb over the rugged sides of the mountain, now became an object of extensive curiosity: it was said to be the oracle of the goddess Earth: the rude inhabitants, from all the neighboring parts, resorted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any of them inhaled the vapor, and whatever he uttered in the insuing intoxication, passed for prophecy.

The goddess Earth.

But the function of prophet, under these circumstances, was not a little dangerous; for many, through the superinduced giddiness, fell into the cavern and were lost. An assembly of the neighboring inhabitants was therefore convened; in which it was determined that one person, appointed by public authority, should alone be permitted to receive the inspiration and render the responses of the divinity; and that the security of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chasm, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with safety. A virgin was preferred for the sacred office; and a frame was prepared, resting on three feet, whence it had the name of tripod. The place bore the name of Pytho, of uncertain origin, but attributed in aftertimes to some adventures of the gods there, which gave it a mystical dignity; and thence the title of Pythoness, or Pythia, became attached to the prophetess. To obtain the inspiration which, it was supposed, not only enabled, but forced her to reveal the will of the

The Pythia or Pythoness.

divinity, the Pythoness was placed on the tripod. A sacred estimation thus became attached to the form of that machine insomuch that thence, according to Diodorus, arose the partiality which induced not the Greeks only, but the Romans, to prefer it for every utensil, whether for sacred or domestic purposes, to which it could be applied.

Temple and priests at Delphi.

The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a further establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern, priests were appointed, ceremonies were prescribed, sacrifices were performed. A revenue now was necessary. All, therefore, who would consult the oracle henceforward must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place no longer then depended simply on the superstition of the people: the interest of the priests became its guardian. Hence, according to popular conjecture, the change of divinities supposed to preside at Delphi. The profits produced by the prophetical abilities of the goddess Earth beginning to fail, it was asserted that the god Neptune was associated with her in the oracle. After this the goddess Themis was said to have succeeded her mother, Earth, in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiosity became necessary. If the attempt to sift fact from fable may in any case be indulged to the historian, the hymn to Apollo, transmitted to us as the composition of Homer, seems to offer so probable an account of the

Change of Divinities.

next and final change in the property of this celebrated place, that it may be permitted to introduce it here.

The god Apollo.

Apollo was a deity of great reputation in the islands and in Asia Minor, but hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a vessel from Gnossus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and, the crew landing, proceeded immediately up the neighboring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a wonderful story was circulated, "That this vessel, being bound to Pylus on the coast of Messenia, had been forced by a preternatural power beyond that port; and, while the astonished crew were perfectly passive, had been conducted with surprising exactness and expedition to Crissa: that a dolphin of uncommon magnitude had accompanied the vessel, apparently with authority, and, on their arrival at Crissa, discovered himself to the crew to be the great and beneficent god Apollo; ordering them at the same time to follow him to Delphi, where they should become his ministers." The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plainly for some time been wrong: Apollo was now the presiding power of the place; and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers (for Crete, as we have seen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece), the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being really near the centre of Greece, was reported to be the centre of the world;

Apollo becomes the presiding deity.

miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance, and Navel of the Earth was among the titles which it acquired. Perhaps at this time the Pythian games had their origin in the prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretan. It was not till some ages after that athletic exercises were introduced, in imitation of the Olympian.

The town of Delphi.

Delphi, however, prospering through its oracle, became early a considerable town. Situate as it was among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Beotian plain was not far distant, and the neighborhood of the sea was a great additional convenience. Previous to Homer's time, if we may credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone, with some magnificence. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spread its fame and enlarged its influence; which quickly so extended, that nothing of moment within Greece was undertaken by states, or even by private persons who could afford the expense, without first consulting the oracle of Delphi; particularly in circumstances of doubt, anxiety, and distress, Delphi was the refuge. A present upon these occasions was always necessary; and princes and opulent persons endeavored to conciliate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to superstition in

Gifts to the temple.

bringing riches to the temple. The names of those who made considerable presents were always registered; and when statues, tripods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor.

Wealth of Delphi.

But the wealth and growing estimation of Delphi had also another source of which information remains only so far as to assure us of the fact, with far less explanation of circumstances than for its importance might be desired. In the general insecurity of property in the early ages, and especially in Greece, it was highly desirable to convert all that could be spared from immediate use into that which might most easily be removed from approaching danger. By a compact understood among men, with this view, the precious metals appear to have obtained their early estimation. Gold then and silver having acquired their certain value as signs of wealth, a deposit secure against the dangers continually threatening, not individuals only, but every town and State in Greece, would be the next object of the wealthy. Such security offered nowhere in equal amount as in those temples which belonged not to any single State, but were respected by the common religion of the nation. The priesthood, not likely to refuse the charge, would have a large interest in acquiring the reputation of fidelity to it. Thus Delphi appears to have become the great bank of Greece, perhaps before Homer, in whose time its riches seem to have been already proverbial. Such then was

found the value of this institution, that when the Dorian conquest drove so large a part of the Greek nation into exile, the fugitives, who acquired new settlements in Asia, established there their own national bank, in the manner of that of their former country, recommending it to the protection of the same divinity: the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ became the great depository of the wealth of Ionia.

Delphi the bank of Greece.

Of the management of the prophetical business of Delphi, some information remains, bearing the appearance of authenticity. The Pythoness was chosen from among mountain-cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always required that she should be a virgin, and originally she was taken very young. The purity of virgin innocence, to which the Greeks attached an idea of mysterious sanctity, made a girl most fit, in vulgar opinion, to receive the influence of the god; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the same time very commodious for the purposes of the priests. Once appointed, she was never to quit the temple. But unfortunately it happened that one Pythoness made her escape: her singular beauty enamored a young Thessalian, who succeeded in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. It was afterward decreed that no Pythoness should be appointed under fifty years of age: but that in simplicity she should still be the nearest possible to a child; and that even the dress appropriated to girls should be preserved to her.

Choice of the Pythoness.

How the oracle was obtained.

The office of Pythoness appears not to have been desirable. Either the emanation from the cavern, or some art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priests, entitled prophets, led her to the sacred tripod, force being often necessary for the purpose, and held her on it till her frenzy rose to whatever pitch was, in their judgment, most fit for the occasion. To secure themselves was not difficult; because those noxious vapors, which have been observed in caverns, in various parts of the world, are so much specifically heavier than the wholesome air, that they never rise above a certain height. But Pythonesses are said to have expired almost immediately after quitting the tripod, and even on the tripod. The broken accents, which the wretch uttered in her agony, were collected and arranged by the prophets, and then promulgated, till a late period always in verse, as the answer of the god. There were, however, a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and those variable within the power of the priests. Previous sacrifices were, moreover, necessary, and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness would in vain solicit inspiration. Thus the priests had it always in their power to deny answers, to delay answers, or to give answers direct, dubious, or unintelligible, as they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities, therefore, of arrogating the merit of true prophecy, the oracle generally avoided the risk of being convicted of false; though such misfortune happened to

Avoidance of direct answers.

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many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi; which thence acquired the reputation, delivered to us in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, of being the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

[The great trading community of the Phenician cities, headed by Tyre and Sidon, attains its greatest power about B.C. 1300. It has a great caravan trade with Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Armenia, etc., and its mariners trade along the whole coast of southern and western Europe as far as the shores of the Baltic. It plants colonies in Cicilia, Rhodes, Crete, Cythera, Malta, Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Marseilles, the Balearic Islands, Southern Spain and Northern Africa. The most important of these is Carthage.]

Rise of the Phenician cities.

9000

THE FOUNDING OF CARTHAGE

(B.C. 872)

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT

ETHBAAL [1] died in B.C. 894 and left the crown to his son, Baaleazar II., who reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his son, Mathan, whose reign began in 888 and ended in B.C. 879. Under this prince, in the winter of 884-883, the Assyrians, who were beginning frequently to direct their attacks toward Syria, and were at the time engaged in wars with the kings of Damascus, as well as with the Hittites on the borders of the Orontes, again made their appearance on the frontiers of Phenicia. This attack terminated like the one made in the time of Ethbaal. Shalmaneser V. says in an inscription on the Nimrud obelisk, "In my twenty-first compaign I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched toward the towns of Hazael of Damascus. I received tributes from Tyre, Sidon and Gebal."

The Assyrians attack Syria.

Under the reign of Mathan, or during the first years

[1] King of Tyre.

of that of his successor, the Phenicians lost their settlements of Melos and Thera, and also their towns of Camirus and Ialysus, in the island of Rhodes. This date is the necessary consequence of the one we have admitted for the taking of Troy. We know, as a positive fact, that the last possessions of the Phenicians in the Sporades were taken from them by the Dorians, about sixty years after they made their appearance in the Peloponnesus; and the great event known in Grecian history under the name of the Return of the Heraclidæ took place eighty years after the fall of the city of Priam. We have no details of the conquest of Melos and Thera; but the historians of the island of Rhodes record that at the time of the arrival of the Dorians, Ialysus and Camirus were governed by a prince named Phalia, and did not surrender till after a protracted siege.

Loss of the Phenician possessions.

The commencement of the reign of the fourth prince of the dynasty founded by Ethbaal was marked by the great political revolution at Tyre that led to the foundation of the great African city which was destined to become the rival of Rome. Mathan died leaving two children, a son, aged eleven years, named Piimeliun, celebrated in poetical tradition under the name of Pygmalion, and a daughter, some years older, named Elissar, the Elissa of classical authors; his last wish was that the two should reign conjointly. But the populace, desirous of changing the purely aristocratic form of government, revolted, proclaimed Piimeliun sole monarch, and sur-

Death of Mathan.

rounded him by councillors of the democratic party. Elissar, excluded from the throne, married Zicharbaal, the Sicheus of Virgil, the Acerbas or Acerbal of other traditions, high-priest of Melkarth, a personage ranking next after the king, whose position placed him at the head of the aristocratic party. *Marriage of Elissar.*

Some years later Piimeliun, brought up in the interests of the popular party, caused Zicharbaal, in whom he saw a rival, to be assassinated. Elissar, burning to revenge her husband, headed a conspiracy, with the object of dethroning her brother and re-establishing the ancient power of the aristocracy. The three hundred members of the Senate, the heads of the patrician families, conspired with her; but the democracy was so vigilant as to leave the conspirators no hope of success in Tyre itself. They then resolved to expatriate themselves rather than remain submissive to Piimeliun and the popular party. Seizing by surprise some ships in the port ready for sea, they embarked to the number of several thousand, and departed to found a new Tyre beneath other skies, under the guidance of Elissar, who from this emigration received the surname of Dido, "the fugitive." This occurred in 872, the seventh year of the reign of Piimeliun. The Tyrian emigrants directed their course toward Africa, where the settlements of their countrymen had been constantly increasing in number, and where they were sure of finding friends ready to welcome them. They disembarked in Zeugitania, on the site where, six *Conspiracy and Emigration.*

centuries before, the Sidonians had founded Cambe, a city now fallen into ruin, and, perhaps, entirely abandoned, in consequence of the increase and prosperity of Utica, in its immediate vicinity.

Elissar founds a new city.

The Lyby-Phenicians, inhabitants of the country, were then tributary to Japon, a king of the native Libyans. Elissar bought of him a territory for her colony of fugitives, and built there a town named Kiryath-Hadéschath (doubtless pronounced by the Phenicians Kereth-Hadesheth, "the new town"). This name the Greeks transformed into Carchedon, and the Romans into Carthago. Elissar, so celebrated under the name of Dido, became later, in poetic and popular legends, almost a mythical personage; and the true history of the foundation of Carthage was surrounded and almost completely obscured by fabulous accessories. But the story, as we have related it, seems really historical, and is recorded by the elder Cato, by Trogus Pompeius, and by Saint Augustine, who derived his information from the national annals of Carthage.

Thessalian and Dorian migrations.

[The date of the Trojan war is placed at about B.C. 1200. The next four hundred years are occupied in Greek history by the Thessalian and Dorian migrations. About 1100, under the leadership of the Heraclidæ, the Peloponnesus is conquered by the Dorians and Ætolians, the old inhabitants, the Acheans, being expelled or subjugated. From B.C. 1000 to 900, Eolian, Ionian, and

Dorian colonists spread Greek influence throughout the Levant. Athens and Sparta rise into rival power. Lycurgus gives a constitution and laws to Sparta about 820. In 776 is recorded for the first time the name of the victor in the Olympian games. This date is therefore called the First Olympiad. Twenty-three years later we also reach the date at which Rome is supposed to have been founded, which event is, therefore, the basis of Roman chronology.]

The First Olympiad.

LAWS OF LYCURGUS

(B.C. 820)

PLUTARCH

AMONG the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a Senate; which sharing, as Plato says, in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the State. For before it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes toward a pure democracy; but this establishment of a Senate, an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and put it in a safe posture: the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and, on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute. *The Senate.*

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus was a new division of the lands. For he found a pro-

digious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centred in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia.

Division of lands.

After this he attempted to divide also the movables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counterworking their avarice by a stratagem. First he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only: then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a small value; so that to lay up ten minæ, a whole room was required, and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedemon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor if it were

Division of movables.

cut in pieces be served by its use? When it was hot, they quenched it in vinegar, to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant-ship unlade in their harbors. There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself: even they who had great possessions had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless, in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen, having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, showed the excellence of their art in necessary things.

Iron money.

Luxury dies out.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously con-

Use of public tables.

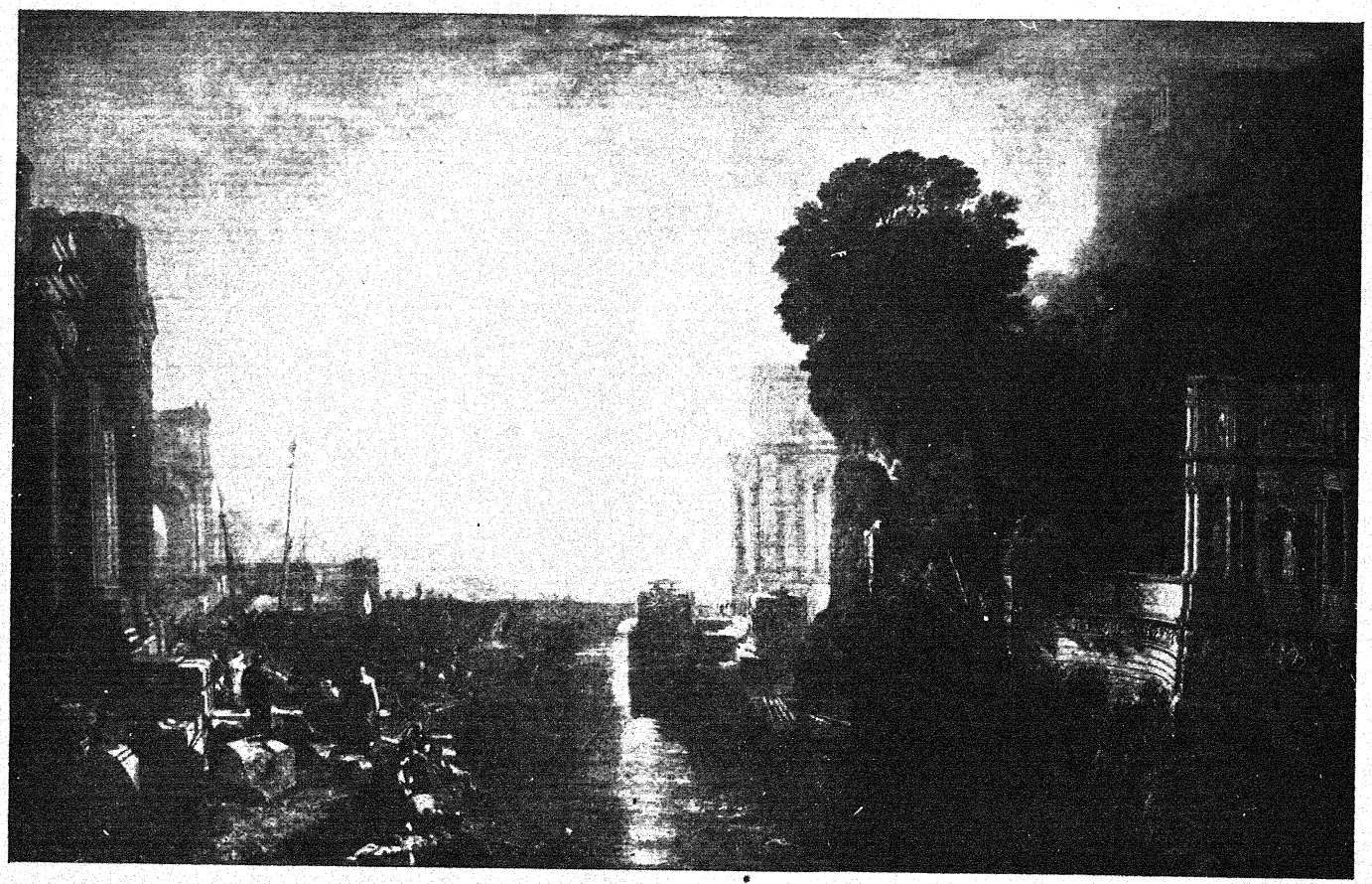
trived. This was the use of public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time they were forbidden to eat at home, or on expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private. For so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness.

How supplied.

The public repasts were called by the Cretans Andria; but the Lacedemonians styled them Phiditia. There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table: for, after a sacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home: but the rest were to appear at the usual place. Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were

Manners at table.

allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned. For it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedemonian to bear a jest: but if any one's patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet,



DIDO BUILDING CARTHAGE (*Page* 56)

FROM THE PAINTING BY TURNER

and they left off immediately. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, "Not a word spoken in this company goes out there." The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation. Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called caddos, which the waiter carried upon his head. In case he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure, if not, he first pressed it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with one another. The dish that was in the highest esteem among them was the black broth. The old men were so fond of it that they ranged themselves on one side and ate it, leaving the meat to the young people. After they had drunk moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed, they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march in the darkest night boldly and resolutely. Such was the order of their public repasts.

Admission of new members.

Another ordinance levelled against magnificence and expense, directed that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the axe, and the doors with nothing but the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterward of his table, "Treason lurks not

Ordinance as to expense.

under such a dinner," so Lycurgus perceived before him that such a house admits of no luxury and needless splendor. Indeed, no man could be so absurd as to bring into a dwelling so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expense that follows these: but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet of the bed and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that.

As to war.

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy, lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they too should become able warriors in their turn. And this they most blamed King Agesilaus for afterward, that by frequent and continued incursions into Beotia, he taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedemonians.

Education of youth.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the greatest and most glorious work of a lawgiver, he began with it at the very source, taking into consideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not (as Aristotle says) desist from his attempt to bring the women under sober rules. They had, indeed, assumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands, during which they were left sole mistresses at home, and so gained an undue deference and improper titles; but notwithstanding this he took all possible care of them. He ordered the virgins to exercise themselves in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts; that, their

bodies being strong and vigorous, the children afterward produced from them might be the same; and that, thus fortified by exercise, they might the better support the pangs of child-birth, and be delivered with safety. In order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, he accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals. There they sometimes indulged in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes they sung encomiums on such as deserved them, thus exciting in the young men a useful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praised for his bravery and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy: while their satirical glances thrown out in sport, were no less cutting than serious admonitions; especially as the Kings and Senate went with the other citizens to see all that passed.

Training of women.

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but he was obliged to carry the child to a place called Lesche, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of nine thousand shares of land; but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called Apothetæ, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus; concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the pub-

Disposition of children.

lic, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution. The Spartan children were not under tutors purchased or hired with money, nor were the parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased: but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who showed the most conduct and courage among them was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishment he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

Mode of training.

Exercises of youth.

At this age, the most distinguished among them became the favorite companions of the elders; and the old men attended more constantly their places of exercise, observing their trials of strength and wit, not slightly and in a cursory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors: so that there was neither time nor place where persons were wanting to instruct and chastise them. One of the best and ablest men of the city was, moreover, appointed inspector of the youth: and he gave the command of each company to the discreetest and most spirited of those called Irens. An Iren was one that

had been two years out of the class of boys: a Melliren one of the oldest lads.

Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valor, and an experienced commander. Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalcrean says, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. *Valor of Lycurgus.*

The discipline of the Lacedemonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased; the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.* Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those that were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured for his countrymen was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches were there of no account: and the Helotes, who tilled the *Daily habits.*

ground, were answerable for the produce above-mentioned.

Lawsuits were banished from Lacedemon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise, or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age, all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money, or business, or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humor which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but, as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated a little statue to the god of laughter in each hall. He considered facetiousness as a seasoning of the hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Subjects of discourse.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by (or for) them-

selves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst of honor and enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples; accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped. Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men that fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth day they were to put an end to it, after offering sacrifice to Ceres.

Burial laws.

For the same reason he would not permit all that desired it to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government. He forbid strangers too to resort to Sparta who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not, as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the con-

Dislike of foreign manners.

stitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners come new subjects of discourse; new discourse produces new opinions; and from these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He, therefore, thought it more expedient for the city to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

FIRST DESTRUCTION OF NINEVEH

(B.C. 789)

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT

THE exaggerated development of the Assyrian empire was quite unnatural; the Kings of Nineveh had never succeeded in welding into one nation the numerous tribes whom they subdued by force of arms, or in checking in them the spirit of independence; they had not even attempted to do so. The empire was absolutely without cohesion; the administrative system was so imperfect, the bond attaching the various provinces to each other, and to the centre of the monarchy, so weak, that at the commencement of almost every reign a revolt broke out, sometimes at one point, sometimes at another. It was therefore easy to foresee that, so soon as the reins of government were no longer in a really strong hand—so soon as the King of Assyria should cease to be an active and warlike king, always in the field, always at the head of his troops—the great edifice laboriously built up by his predecessors

The Assyrian empire without unity.

of the tenth and ninth centuries would collapse, and the immense fabric of empire would vanish like smoke with such rapidity as to astonish the world. And this is exactly what occurred after the death of Binlikhish III.

Gradual dissolution.

The tablet in the British Museum allows us to follow year by year the events and the progress of the dissolution of the empire. Under Shalmaneser V., who reigned from 828 to 818, some foreign expeditions were still made, as, for instance, to Damascus in 819; but the forces of the empire were specially engaged during many following years, in attempting to hold countries already subdued, such as Armenia, then in a chronic state of revolt; the wars in one and the same province were constant, and occupied some six successive campaigns (the Armenian war was from 827 to 822), proving that no decisive results were obtained.

Under Asshur-edil-ilani II., who reigned from 818 to 800, we do not see any new conquests; insurrections constantly broke out, and were no longer confined to the extremities of the empire; they encroached on the heart of the country, and gradually approached nearer to Nineveh. The revolutionary spirit increased in the provinces, a great insurrection became imminent, and was ready to break out on the slightest excuse. At this period, 804, it is that the British Museum tablet registers, as a memorable fact in the column of events, "peace in the land." Two great plagues are also mentioned under this reign, in 811 and 805, and on the 13th of

Reign of Asshur-edil-ilani II.

June, 809 (30 Sivan in the eponymy of Bur-el-salkhi), an almost total eclipse of the sun visible at Nineveh.

The revolution was not long in coming. Asshurlikhish ascended the throne in 800, and fixed his residence at Nineveh; he is the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, the ever-famous prototype of the voluptuous and effeminate prince. The tablet in the British Museum only mentions two expeditions in his reign, both of small importance, in 795 and 794; to all the other years the only notice is "in the country," proving that nothing was done, and that all thought of war was abandoned. Sardanapalus had entirely given himself up to the orgies of his harem, and never left his palace walls, entirely renouncing all manly and warlike habits of life. He had reigned thus for seven years, and discontent continued to increase; the desire for independence was spreading in the subject provinces; the bond of their obedience each year relaxed still more, and was nearer breaking, when Arbaces, who commanded the Median contingent of the army and was himself a Mede, chanced to see in the palace at Nineveh the king, in a female dress, spindle in hand, hiding in the retirement of the harem his slothful cowardice and voluptuous life. He considered that it would be easy to deal with a prince so degraded, who would be unable to renew the valorous traditions of his ancestors. The time seemed to him to have come when the provinces, held only by force of arms, might finally throw off the weighty Assyrian yoke. Arbaces communi-

The effeminate Sardanapalus.

Arbaces the Mede.

cated his ideas and projects to the prince then intrusted with the government of Babylon, the Chaldean Phul (Palia?), surnamed Balazu (the terrible), a name the Greeks have made into Belesis; he entered into the plot with the willingness to be expected from a Babylonian, one of a nation so frequently rising in revolt. Arbaces and Balazu consulted with other chiefs, who commanded contingents of foreign troops, and with the vassal kings of those countries that aspired to independence; and they all formed the resolution of overthrowing Sardanapalus. Arbaces engaged to raise the Medes and Persians, while Balazu set on foot the insurrection in Babylon and Chaldea. At the end of a year the chiefs assembled their soldiers, to the number of 40,000, in Assyria, under the pretext of relieving, according to custom, the troops who had served the former year. When once there, the soldiers broke into open rebellion. The tablet in the British Museum tells us that the insurrection commenced at Calah in 792. Immediately after this the confusion became so great that from this year there was no nomination of an eponym.

Sardanapalus shows unexpected valor.

Sardanapalus, rudely interrupted in his debaucheries by a danger he had not been able to foresee, showed himself suddenly inspired with activity and courage; he put himself at the head of the native Assyrian troops who remained faithful to him, met the rebels and gained three complete victories over them. The confederates already began to despair of success, when Phul, calling in

the aid of superstition to a cause that seemed lost, declared to them that if they would hold together for five days more, the gods, whose will he had ascertained by consulting the stars, would undoubtedly give them the victory.

In fact, some days afterward a large body of troops, whom the king had summoned to his assistance from the provinces near the Caspian Sea, went over, on their arrival, to the side of the insurgents and gained them a victory. Sardanapalus then shut himself up in Nineveh, and determined to defend himself to the last. The siege continued two years, for the walls of the city were too strong for the battering machines of the enemy, who were compelled to trust to reducing it by famine. Sardanapalus was under no apprehension, confiding in an oracle declaring that Nineveh should never be taken until the river became its enemy. But, in the third year, rain fell in such abundance that the waters of the Tigris inundated part of the city and overturned one of its walls for a distance of twenty stades. Then the king, convinced that the oracle was accomplished and despairing of any means of escape, to avoid falling alive into the enemy's hands, constructed in his palace an immense funeral pyre, placed on it his gold and silver, and his royal robes, and then, shutting himself up with his wives and eunuchs in a chamber formed in the midst of the pile, disappeared in the flames.

A siege of two years.

The funeral pyre.

Nineveh opened its gates to the besiegers, but this

tardy submission did not save the proud city. It was pillaged and burned, and then razed to the ground so completely as to evidence the implacable hatred enkindled in the minds of subject nations by the fierce and cruel Assyrian government. The Medes and Babylonians did not leave one stone upon another in the ramparts, palaces, temples, or houses of the city that for two centuries had been dominant over all Western Asia. So complete was the destruction that the excavations of modern explorers on the site of Nineveh have not yet found one single wall slab earlier than the capture of the city by Arbaces and Balazu. All we possess of the first Nineveh is one broken statue. History has no other example of so complete a destruction.

Nineveh falls.

The Assyrian empire was, like the capital, overthrown, and the people who had taken part in the revolt formed independent states—the Medes under Arbaces, the Babylonians under Phul, or Balazu, and the Susianians under Shutruk-Nakhunta. Assyria, reduced to the enslaved state in which she had so long held other countries, remained for some time a dependency of Babylon.

Assyria a dependency.

This great event occurred in the year B.C. 789.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

(B.C. 776)

MAX DUNCKER

THE great festival at Olympia was held at the first full moon after the summer solstice; it recurred at the end of three years, in every fourth year, alternately, after forty-nine and fifty months.

The Greek year.

The Greek year contained twelve months: six of these months had twenty-nine, and six, thirty, days; the whole number of days being 354. During the octennial cycle this year, which was too short as compared with the course of the sun, was again brought into harmony with the solar year by the intercalation of three months, each consisting of thirty days. On this cycle was also based the return of the Olympic festival; for an intercalary month was inserted in the course of the four years of the Olympic cycle; in the following four years *two* such months were added, and so on alternately.

Only the priesthood and the necessary functionaries and servants resided constantly at Olympia near the holy precinct. This holy precinct, the Altis, as it was called,

Description of the Altis.

situated at the point where the Cladeus falls into the Alpheus from the north, formed a tolerably regular square, surrounded by a wall, and shaded by plane trees and olives; each side of the square measured a stadium. The north wall extended to the foot of the hill of Cronos. The road from the coast, from the mouth of the Alpheus, led up the river, along its right bank. At Heraclea, probably, this road was joined by the road from the city of Elis. Southward of the Altis it crossed the Cladeus; from this road was the entrance to the Altis, on the south. To the left of the entrance gate stood the olive tree from which the victors' garlands were cut; to the left also, northwest of the Altis, was the temple of Pelops, surrounded by a separate wall; and to the northeast, opposite to this, stood the great altar of the Olympian Zeus. The substructure, which was of an elliptical form, and about 60 paces in circuit, was over 20 feet in height; steps led up to it. In the centre of the substructure there rose an altar, on the surface of which the victims were slain; from the manner in which the thighs, bones, and fat burned "the seers" (the Iamidæ), as Pindar says, "discerned the counsel of bright-lightening Zeus." Opposite the great altar, on the east wall of the Altis, there was a high platform from which the embassies to the festival and all to whom the right of *predria* belonged, surveyed the sacrifice. The ashes of the sacrificial fire, and of the consumed portions of the offerings, raised the altar upon the substructure

Altar of the Olympian Jove.

from year to year, and from festival to festival. On the hill of Cronos, in the northwest corner of the Altis, to the north of the temple of Pelops, stood the temple of Hera, which the Scilluntians had erected to that goddess: it was a simple building, and the roof was supported by wooden pillars. Outside the wall that surrounded it, at the northeast corner, was the course for the runners, wrestlers, boxers, athletes of the Pentathlum, and pugilists. This course was carried along the base of the hill of Cronos. After the introduction of the chariot race, the hippodrome was added to the Stadium to the south and east. Toward the south, raised like a mole above the bed of the Alpheus, four times as long and at least four times as broad as the Stadium, was the chariot course; this had to be traversed twelve times, beginning at the west, in order finally to attain the winning post at the east, for which, in after times, a statue of Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaus, was substituted.

The Temple of Juno.

Description of the race-course.

As soon as the truce and the celebration of the sacrifice had been announced by the messengers of the presiding body of Eleans and Pisatæ, the sacrificial embassies of the Peloponnesus flocked thither from all sides; those of the northern cantons generally came over the isthmus; embassies and pilgrims from the islands of the Ægean Sea and the coast of Asia landed in the Bay of Cenchreæ; those from Lower Italy and Sicily at the mouth of the Alpheus. The various cantons and states

Flocking of the embassies to Olympia.

vied with one another in the magnificent equipment of their official representatives, of the ἀρχιθέωρος, or leader, and the θεωροί who accompanied him; and in providing splendid tents, valuable sacrificial implements, victims without blemish for sacrifice: these functionaries not only had to take part in the great sacrifice in the name of their state, but had also to offer special sacrifices at Olympia for their homes. Wealthy men were chosen for this office, who supplied out of their own means whatever was omitted by the state. The power of a city or commonwealth was measured by the splendor of its embassy to the festival. The competitors for the prizes and members of the league encamped under tents or in the open air (the festival was held in July, the hottest time of the year) on the hills of Cronos and the height adjoining it, or to the south of the racecourse in the plain of the Alpheus. The sacrifices and contests could not be held in one day; for the latter were greatly extended and multiplied, even before the middle of the Seventh Century, and subsequently became still more numerous; the festival was ultimately prolonged to five days.

Magnificence displayed at the festival.

Notwithstanding the heat of the July sun, the dense crowd of spectators followed the games, which began early in the morning and ended only at sunset, with lively anxiety. Their eyes hung upon every movement of the combatants, on every turn of the conflict; their interest grew warmer in the struggle of conquerors with conquerors; and in the last decisive race, the final

Great crowds at the games.

struggle, the various reverses of fortune among the charioteers, the excitement became intense. If a man's adversary in wrestling, boxing, or the Pancratium, was left dead upon the course, his wreath of victory was forfeited. The winner of the chariot race was not the man who drove the chariot, but the possessor of the horses. After the judges had given sentence, the herald proclaimed the names of the victors and their native city. The head of the victor was then encircled with a fillet, to which the judges in sight of the whole assembly attached the wreath. Sprays of the special olive tree were cut with a golden knife for these wreaths by a boy chosen for the service, whose parents must still be alive. "From Pisa," says Pindar, "come god-given songs, to the mortal, upon whose hair and on whose brow, fulfilling the ancient sentence, the Ætolian man, the faultless Hellanodices, lays the gray glory of the olive branch, which once Amphitryon's son brought from the shady sources of the Danube, the fairest memorial of the courses at Olympia."

How the victor was crowned.

Though the prize in the foot-race, the victory in the most ancient and honorable of the gymnastic contests, was always the most highly esteemed, and though the festivals were always designated by the name of the conqueror in that race, among the nobles of all the cantons of Hellas it was considered the most glorious distinction to have won the victory at Olympia with the four-horsed chariot. The thank-offering for their victory was brought

How the victors were honored.

by the wreathed conquerors, accompanied by their kinsfolk and friends, by the *theori* of their state, and by all their countrymen, to the hill of Cronos. From the procession of the victor's compatriots there rose a song composed in his honor, or those verses which Archilochus had made in praise of the victorious Heracles, returning from the conflict with Angeas, and to which was now appended the name of the Olympian victor, with the words: "Hail to thee in the prize of victory." "When evening comes and the clear light of the beautiful Selene appears," says Pindar, "the holy city resounds with songs of praise at joyful feasts." The judges feasted the *theori,* and the different nationalities entertained their victors with banqueting and rejoicing beneath the tents of the *theori.* The games were followed by the great sacrifice—the hecatomb to Zeus was offered at the high altar of the Altis; and a great banquet for all the *theori* and all the conquerors was connected with that offering.

Feasts, banquets and offerings.

The olive wreath.

The olive wreath of Olympia was looked upon by the Greeks as the fairest possession to which a mortal could attain. On his return to his country the winner of it was received with high honors. Every commonwealth regarded itself as having conquered and gained the prize in the person of its victor-citizen. He was brought forth in a festal procession, amid the singing of a carefully practiced song of victory (some processional songs of this kind have been preserved among the compositions of Pindar), and conducted to the temple of the tutelary

deity of the city. To this deity a thank-offering was presented for the victory, or rather for the victor, who usually deposited and dedicated his wreath in the temple. The conquerors at Olympia had also permanent honors and privileges assigned them—the *predria* at public festivals; in some places meals at the hearth of the state, that is, at the public expense; freedom from public burdens; and among the Spartans a place of honor in the neighborhood of the king when a battle was to be fought. The lot of the Olympic victor was afterward extolled as divine among the Hellenes. Plato, in order to express the highest stage of satisfaction in regard to the members of his ideal state, says: "They will lead a life more blessed than that which falls to the lot of the Olympian victors."

Public honors for the victors.

Out of the offering of the Pisatæ and Eleans, in the plain of the Alpheus, in which, in the first instance, the Acheans, the Caucones of Scillus, and the Messenians had obtained a share, there grew up in the course of a hundred and twenty years a general sacrifice, in which the whole Hellenic people participated. Its importance was all the greater because Greek colonization had meantime become greatly extended and the members of the Hellenic race were separated by considerable distances. Here were to be found all the cantons and cities of the peninsula, all the colonies of the east and west; Greeks from the coast of Thrace, from the Hellespont, from the Bosphorus as far as Trapezus, from the shores and islands

Originally a sacrifice.

of the Ægean Sea, from Crete and Rhodes, from Croton and Tarentum, from Syracuse and the banks of the Himera, in order to present in common a great sacrifice to the god of heaven, the supreme disposer of their destiny. This festival therefore became an assembly of all Hellenic states, and of the Hellenic people; and the holy place at Olympia, a capital of Hellas, which every fourth year was built with the tents of the festival embassies and pilgrims, and as often broken up.

A brilliant assembly.

The assemblage of all the cantons at the Olympic festival must necessarily have been stimulating to trade and commerce. With the sacrifice there was also held a great fair. All the sounds of the various Hellenic dialects were heard one with another, friends and hosts exchanged greetings, old connections were renewed and new ones formed, eminent men of the cantons and colonies enjoyed personal intercourse. With surprise and delight the Hellenic people must have realized the number of tribes and cities that belonged to them; they must have been astonished at the prosperity of the Greek colonies beyond sea, their foreign slaves, their rich possessions, far exceeding those of the mother country. Thus these assemblies, which had originated in the religious impulse of the Hellenes to worship together at one altar of the peculiar sanctity, strengthened not only the consciousness of a common worship of the gods, but also the feeling of national community. Here again religious and political elements produced by their joint action

National importance of the festival.

great results. The sight of these men from all the territories of Hellas, of these competitors from all districts, who in the presence of their highest god, and of the whole Hellenic people, measured their powers against each other, and strove for the prize of manly strength and skill, aroused the national pride of the Hellenes. At Olympia they learned to look with self-conscious reliance on their fatherland and people, and to extol the favor of the gods who had bestowed upon them such extensive lands and such noble citizens.

National pride.

THE FOUNDING OF ROME

(B.C. 753)

PLUTARCH

AMULIUS being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba, without governing there; nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due honors to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpose, to build one in the place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the most plausible reason of their quitting Alba; and perhaps, too, it was necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation; for that the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of a licentious humor, but deliberately, and through necessity, from the want of wives;

Romulus and Remus leave Alba.

since, after they seized them, they treated them very honorably.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple of the Asylean God. Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate; declaring that they were directed by the oracle of Apollo to preserve the asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled; for it is said that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand.

Founding of Rome.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called Remonium, but now has the name of Rignarium. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say, Remus's account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell

Remus is killed.

by the hand of Romulus; others by that of Celer, one of his companions.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in Remonia, and then built his city, having sent for persons from Hetruria, who (as is usual in sacred mysteries), according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how everything was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, or Hall of Justice, and the first fruits of everything that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then each bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promiscuously. This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same as that of the universe. In the next place, they marked out the city like a circle round this centre; and the founder having fitted a brazen plowshare to a plow, and yoked a bull and cow, himself traced a deep furrow around the boundaries. The business of those who followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plow inward toward the city, and not to suffer any to remain outward. This line described the compass of the city. Where they designed to have a gate, they lifted the plow out of the ground, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred except the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out through them what is unclean.

Romulus marks out the city.

The day on which they began to build the city is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April, and is celebrated annually by the Romans as the birthday of Rome.

Romulus classifies the inhabitants.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and was called a legion, because the most warlike persons were selected. The rest of the multitude he called The People. A hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians, and the whole body was called the Senate, which signifies an Assembly of Old Men.

Rape of the Sabine women.

In the fourth month after the building of the city, as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say, Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike and persuaded by certain oracles that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this is not likely. For, as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married, the greatest part consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn; and he hoped that from this attempt, though not a just one, some alliance and union

with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to do this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth.

Upon this discovery, Romulus, by proclamation, appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal, which was no sooner given than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number five hundred and twenty-seven; and, according to Juba, there were six hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who was afterward chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties. Some tell us, Hersilia was married to Hostilius, one of the most eminent men among the Romans; others, that Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her, a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first born, and an only

son, whom he called Aollius, because of the great concourse of people to him, but after ages, Abillius.

Origin of marriage customs.

Among those that committed this rape, we are told, some of the meaner sort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature; and when some of superior rank that met them attempted to take her from them, they cried out they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their design; and some even turned back and accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction, all the way exclaiming Talasius. Hence this became a term in the nuptial songs of the Romans, as Hymeneus is in those of the Greeks; for Talasius is said to have been very happy in marriage.

And it is a custom still observed, for the bride not to go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but to be carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner.

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwalled towns, thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedemonians, to be bold and fearless But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he should return them the young

women, and disavow the violence, and then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence. and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and entreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done, whereupon some of them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron, King of the Ceninensians, a man of spirit and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus's first enterprises; and, when he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one that would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable to his neighbors, except he were chastised. Acron, therefore, went to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus on this occasion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter: in consequence of which, he both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined, routed his army, and took his city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most ac-

Combat between Acron and Romulus.

Origin of the Roman triumph.

ceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armor, disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing the song of victory before his troops, who followed completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenium, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus, their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired, he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia,

Story of Tarpeia.

the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands; and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems, it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, He loved men while they were betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed; nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitacles the Thracian, "He loved the treason, but hated the traitor." But men are commonly affected toward villains, whom they have occasion for, just as they are toward venomous creatures, which they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and with that his shield. As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and condemned by Romulus for treason.

The Tarpeian Rock.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried, the hill had the name of the Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still

called the Tarpeian Rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to in case he was worsted.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the same animosity as at first, their ardor was repressed by an astonishing spectacle. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared rushing this way and that with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amid the drawn swords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting forward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans, by the tenderest names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmost ranks, and all were deeply affected; particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and entreaty. Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the meantime the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they showed them, that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attentions their husbands

The women bring about peace.

paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated.

Conditions of peace.

Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all drudgery, except spinning; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name of Rome, from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tatius, should be called Quirites; and that the regal power, and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles were ratified, is still called Comitium, from the Latin word *coire,* which signifies *to assemble.*

Comitium.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

(B.C. 623-543)

T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS

IT was at Kapilavastu, a few days' journey north of Benares, that in the Fifth Century, B.C., a Rajah Suddhodana ruled over a tribe who were called the Sakyas, and who from their well-watered rice-fields could see the giant Himalayas looming up against the clear blue of the Indian sky. Their supplies of water were drawn from the River Rohini, the modern Kohana; and though the use of the river was in times of drought the cause of disputes between the Sakyas and the neighboring Koliyans, the two clans were then at peace; and two daughters of the Rajah of Koli, which was only eleven miles east of Kapilavastu, were the principal wives of Suddhodana. Both were childless, and great was the rejoicing when, in about the forty-fifth year of her age, the elder sister, Mahamaya, promised her husband a son. In due time she started with the intention of being confined at her parents' home, but the party halting on the way under the shade of some lofty satin trees, in a pleasant

The birth of Gautama.

garden called Lumbini on the river side, her son, the future Buddha, was there unexpectedly born.

He was in after years more generally known by his family name of Gautama, but his individual name was Siddhartha. When he was nineteen years old he was married to his cousin Yasodhara, daughter of the Koliyan rajah, and gave himself up to a life of Oriental luxury and delight. Soon after this, according to the southern account, his relations formally complained to the rajah that his son lived entirely for pleasure without learning anything, and asked what they should do under such a leader if war arose. Gautama, hearing of this, is said to have appointed a day for a trial of his prowess, and by defeating all his competitors in manly exercises and surpassing even his teachers in knowledge, to have won back the good opinion of the disaffected Sakyas. This is the solitary record of his youth; we hear nothing more till, in his twenty-ninth year, it is related that, driving to his pleasure-grounds one day, he was struck by the sight of a man utterly broken down by age, on another occasion by the sight of a man suffering from a loathsome disease, and some months after by the horrible sight of a decomposing corpse. Each time his charioteer, whose name was Channa, told him that such was the fate of all living beings. Soon after he saw an ascetic walking in a calm and dignified manner, and asking who that was, was told by his charioteer the character and aims of the ascetics. The different accounts of this vary so much as to

His youthful excesses.

cast great doubts on their accuracy. It is, however, clear from what follows that about this time the mind of the young rajput must, from cause or other, have been deeply stirred. *His change of heart.*

Subjectively, though not objectively, these visions may be supposed to have appeared to Gautama. After seeing the last of them, he is said to have spent the afternoon in his pleasure-grounds by the river-side; and having bathed, to have entered his chariot in order to return home. Just then a messenger arrived with the news that his wife Yasodhara had given birth to a son, his only child. "This," said Gautama quietly, "is a new and strong tie I shall have to break." But the people of Kapilavastu were greatly delighted at the birth of the young heir, the rajah's only grandson. Gautama's return became an ovation; musicians preceded and followed his chariot, while shouts of joy and triumph fell on his ear. Among these sounds one especially attracted his attention. It was the voice of a young girl, his cousin, who sang a stanza, saying, "Happy the father, happy the mother, happy the wife of such a son and husband." In the word "happy" lay a double meaning; it meant also freed from the chains of existence, delivered, *saved*. Grateful to one who, at such a time, reminded him of his highest hopes, Gautama, to whom such things had no longer any value, took off his collar of pearls and sent it to her. She imagined this was the beginning of a courtship, and began to build day-dreams about becoming his principal wife, but *His son is born.*

he took no further notice of her and passed on. That evening the dancing-girls came to go through the Natch dances, then as now so common on festive occasions in many parts of India; but he paid them no attention, and gradually fell into an uneasy slumber. At midnight he awoke; the dancing-girls were lying in the anteroom; an overpowering loathing filled his soul. He arose instantly with a mind fully made up—"roused into activity," says the Sinhalese chronicle, "like a man who is told that his house is on fire." He called out to know who was on guard; and finding it was his charioteer Channa, he told him to saddle his horse. While Channa was gone, Siddhartha gently opened the door of the room where Yasodhara was sleeping, surrounded by flowers, with one hand on the head of her child. He had hoped to take the babe in his arms for the last time before he went, but now he stood for a few moments irresolute on the threshold looking at them. At last the fear of awakening Yasodhara prevailed; he tore himself away, promising himself to return to them as soon as his mind had become clear, as soon as he had become a Buddha—*i.e.* Enlightened—and then he could return to them not only as husband and father, but as teacher and savior. It is said to have been broad moonlight, on the full moon of the month of July, when the young chief, with Channa as his sole companion, leaving his father's home, his wealth and power, his wife and child, behind him, went out into the

Spends the evening in thought.

He abandons all.

wilderness to become a penniless and despised student and a homeless wanderer.

Next is related an event in which we may again see a subjective experience given under the form of an objective reality. Mara, the great tempter, appears in the sky and urges Gautama to stop, promising him, in seven days, a universal kingdom over the four great continents if he will but give up his enterprise. When his words fail to have any effect, the tempter consoles himself by the confident hope that he will still overcome his enemy, saying, "Sooner or later, some lustful or malicious or angry thought must arise in his mind; in that moment I shall be his master"; and from that hour, adds the Burmese chronicle, "as a shadow always follows the body, so he too from that day always followed the Blessed One, striving to throw every obstacle in his way toward the Buddhahood." Gautama rides a long distance that night, only stopping at the banks of the Anoma beyond the Koliyan territory. There, on the sandy bank of the river, at a spot where later piety erected a *dagaba* (a solid dome-shaped relic shrine), he cuts off with his sword his long flowing locks, and taking off his ornaments, sends them and the horse back in charge of the unwilling Channa to Kapilavastu. The next seven days were spent alone in a grove of mango trees near by, whence the ascetic walks on to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, and residence of Bimbisara, one of the then most powerful rulers in the valley of the Ganges. He

Gautama's temptations.

Gautama becomes an ascetic.

was favorably received by the rajah, a friend of his father's; but though asked to do so, he would not as yet assume the responsibilities of a teacher. He attached himself first to a Brahman sophist named Alara, and afterward to another named Udraka, from whom he learned all that Hindu philosophy had then to teach. Still unsatisfied, he next retired to the jungle of Uruvela, on the most northerly spur of the Vindhya range of mountains, and there for six years, attended by five faithful disciples, he gave himself up to the severest penance and self-torture, till his fame as an ascetic spread in all the country round about, "like the sound," says the Burmese chronicle, "of a great bell hung in the canopy of the skies." At last one day, when he was walking in a much enfeebled state, he felt on a sudden an extreme weakness, like that caused by dire starvation, and unable to stand any longer he fell to the ground. Some thought he was dead, but he recovered, and from that time took regular food and gave up his severe penance, so much so that his five disciples soon ceased to respect him, and, leaving him, went to Benares.

He studies Brahman philosophy.

His disciples leave him.

Soon after, if not on the very day when his followers had left him, he wandered out toward the banks of the Nairanjara, receiving his morning meal from the hands of Sujata, the daughter of a neighboring villager, and set himself down to eat it under the shade of a large tree (*Ficus religiosa*), to be known from that time as the sacred Bo tree, or tree of wisdom. There he remained

The sacred Bo tree.

through the long hours of that day debating with himself what next to do. All his old temptations came back upon him with renewed force. All that night he is said to have remained in deep meditation under the Bo tree, and the orthodox Buddhists believe that for seven times seven nights and days he continued fasting near the spot, when the archangel Brahma came and ministered to him. As for himself, his heart was now fixed—his mind was made up—but he realized more than he had ever done before the power of temptation, and the difficulty, the almost impossibility, of understanding and holding to the truth. It is quite consistent with his whole career that it was love and pity for humanity—otherwise, as it seemed to him, helplessly doomed and lost—which at last overcame every other consideration, and made Gautama resolve to announce his doctrine to the world.

Gautama had intended to proclaim his new gospel first to his old teachers, Alara and Udraka, but finding that they were dead, he determined to address himself to his former five disciples, and accordingly went to the Deer-forest near Benares, where they were then living. Seeing him coming, they resolved not to recognize as a superior one who had broken his vows; to address him by his name and not as "master," or "teacher," only, he being a Kshatriya, to offer him a seat. He understands their change of manner, calmly tells them not to mock him by calling him "the venerable Gautama"; that they are still in the way of death, where they must reap sorrow

He seeks his disciples.

and disappointment, whereas he has found the way to salvation and can lead them to it. They object, naturally enough from a Hindu point of view, that he had failed before while he was keeping his body under, and how can his mind have won the victory now, when he serves and yields to his body? Buddha replies by explaining to them the principles of his new gospel.

The Buddhistic idea.

Everything corporeal is material and therefore impermanent, for it contains within itself the germs of dissolution. So long as man is bound up by bodily existence with the material world he is liable to sorrow, decay and death. So long as he allows unholy desires to reign within him, there will be unsatisfied longings, useless weariness, and care. To attempt to purify himself by oppressing his body would be only wasted effort; it is the moral evil of a man's heart which keeps him chained down in the degraded state of bodily life—of union with the material world. It is of little avail to add virtue to his badness, for so long as there is evil, his goodness will only insnare him for a time, and in another birth, a higher form of material life; only the complete *eradication of all evil* will set him free from the chains of existence, and carry him to the "other side," where he will be no longer tossed about on the waves of the ocean of transmigration. But Christian ideas must not be put into these Buddhist expressions. Of any immaterial existence, Buddhism knows nothing. The foundations of its creed have been summed up in the very ancient formula, prob-

ably invented by its founder, which is called *the Four great Truths*. These are—1. That misery always accompanies existence; 2. That all modes of existence (of men or animals, in earth and heaven) result from passion or desire (tanha); 3. That there is no escape from existence except by destruction of desire; 4. That this may be accomplished by following the fourfold way to Nirvana. Of these four stages, called *the Paths,* the first is an awakening of the heart.

The Four great Truths.

When we remember the relation which the five students mentioned above had long borne to him, and that they already believed those parts of his doctrine that are most repugnant to our modern feelings—the pessimist view of life and the transmigration of souls—it is not difficult to understand that his persuasions were successful, and that his old disciples were the first to acknowledge him in his new character. The later books say that they were all converted at once; but according to the most ancient Pali record—though their old love and reverence had been so rekindled when Gautama came near that their cold resolutions quite broke down, and they vied with one another in such acts of personal attention as an Indian disciple loves to pay his teacher—yet it was only after the Buddha had for five days talked to them, sometimes separately, sometimes together, that they accepted in its entirety his plan of salvation. Gautama then remained at the Deer-forest near Benares until the num-

His disciples are won back.

ber of his personal followers was about threescore, and that of the outside believers somewhat greater.

For forty-five years after entering on his mission Gautama itinerated in the valley of the Ganges, not going further than about 150 miles from Benares, and always spending the rainy months at one spot—usually at one of the *viharas* or homes which had been given to the society. In the twentieth year, his cousin Ananda became a mendicant, and from that time seems to have attended on Gautama, being constantly near him, and delighting to render him all the personal service which love and reverence could suggest.

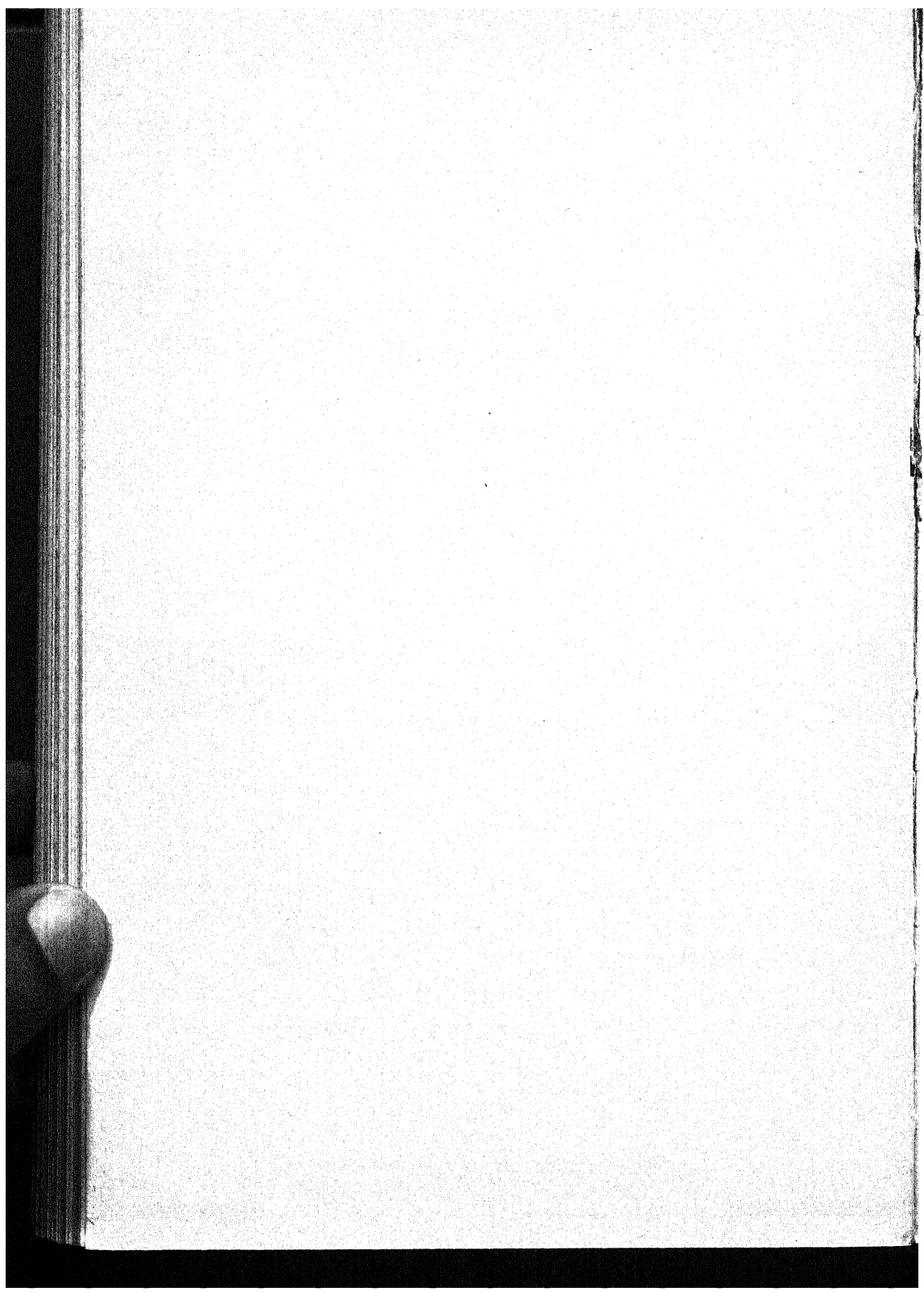
Buddha's influence.

It will seem strange to many that a religion which ignores the existence of God and denies the existence of the soul should be the very religion which has found most acceptance among men, and it is easy to maintain that Buddha merely taught philosophy, or had he lived in later ages, he might have had as small a following as Comte. Gautama's power over the people arose in a great degree from the glow of his practical philanthropy, which did not shrink in the struggle against the abuses most peculiar to his time; his philosophy and his ethics attracted the masses, from whose chained hands they struck off the manacles of caste, and in leaving the school for the world they insensibly became a religion. But there is no reason to believe that Gautama was, either at the beginning or the end of his career, the founder of a new religion. He seems to have hoped that the new wine

would go into the old bottles, and that all men, not excepting even the Brahmans, would gradually adopt his, the only orthodox, form of the ancient creed.

[Syracuse is founded by the Corinthians in 734, and the Messenian wars last from 743 to 628. In 708, Tarentum is founded by the Spartans. Draco's laws, "written in blood," are written about 624, and Cylon's unsuccessful insurrection in Athens occurs in 612. Solon then gained great influence in Athens, and the First Sacred War against Crisa and Cirrha lasts from 600 to 590. Solon establishes his constitution and laws in 597.]

First Sacred War.



LAWS OF SOLON

(B.C. 597)

PLUTARCH

THOUGH Solon rejected absolute power, he proceeded with spirit enough in the administration; he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humor of his constituents. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasion, or compel them to by his authority, making (as he says) force and right conspire. Hence it was, that having the question afterward put to him, Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians, he answered, The best they were capable of receiving. Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of a discharge. For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man, for the future, should take the body of his debtor for security.

Mode of procedure.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a discharge,

and with these the poems of Solon agree. For in them he values himself on having taken away the marks of mortgaged land, which before were almost everywhere set up, and made free those fields which before were bound: and not only so, but of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some, he tells us, he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long that they had forgot the Attic dialect, and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home.

Discharge of debts.

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he met with; for when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was considering of a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely, Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolish the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his hastening to make their advantage of the secret, before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates with them. Afterward, when the decree was published, they kept their possessions without paying the money they had taken up; which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in the fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had out

at interest. But his friends went by the name of Chreocopiæ, or debt-cutters, ever after.

The method he took satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. The latter were displeased by the cancelling of their bonds; and the former at not finding a division of lands; upon this they had fixed their hopes, and they complained that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. But being soon sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offered a public sacrifice, which they called Seisactheia, or the sacrifice of the discharge, and constituted Solon lawgiver and superintendent of the commonwealth; committing to him the regulation not of a part only, but the whole, magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions, at his pleasure.

Solon made lawgiver.

First, then, he repealed the laws of Draco, except those concerning murder, because of the severity of the punishments they appointed, which for almost all offences were capital; even those that were convicted of idleness were to suffer death, and such as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that Draco wrote his laws not with ink but with blood. And he himself being asked, Why he made death the punish-

Repeal of the Draconian laws.

ment for most offences, answered, Small ones deserve it, and I can find no greater for the most heinous.

Solon estimates the estates of citizens.

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens; intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in other departments which they had not before. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called them Pentacosiomedimni. The second consisted of those that could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures; these were of the equestrian order, and called Hippodatelountes. And those of the third class, who had but two hundred measures, were called Zeugitæ. The rest were named Thetes, and not admitted to any office: they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general assembly of the people. This seemed at first but a slight privilege, but afterward showed itself a matter of great importance: for most causes came at last to be decided by them; and in such matters as were under the cognizance of the magistrates there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambiguous manner, on purpose to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For as they could not adjust their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior to the laws. De-

Divides the people into classes.

sirous yet further to strengthen the common people, he empowered any man whatever to enter an action for one that was injured. If a person was assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, another that was able and willing to do it might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law: being asked, What city was best modelled? he answered, That where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are.

Strengthens the common people.

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the areopagus, which was to consist of such as had borne the office of archon, and himself was one of the number. But observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs were to be previously considered; and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In the meantime the high court of the areopagus were to be the inspectors and guardians of the law. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils as by two anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable.

The areopagus.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws, is that which declares the man infamous who stands neuter

Laws to prevent indifference.

in the time of sedition. It seems he would not have us be indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public; when our own concerns are upon a safe bottom; nor when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse the better and juster cause, and hazard everything in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law, too, seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a young heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some say, this law was properly levelled against those who, conscious of their own inability, match with heiresses for the sake of the portion, and under color of law do violence to nature.

Marriage laws.

In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries should be given; the bride was to bring with her only three suits of clothes, and some household stuff of small value. For he did not choose that marriages should be made with mercenary or venal views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. And if he found a young man in the house of a rich old woman, like a partridge, growing fat in his private services, he would remove him to some young virgin who wanted a husband. But enough of this.

Against evil speaking.

That law of Solon's is also justly commended which forbids men to speak ill of the dead. He forbade his people also to revile the living, in a temple, in a court of

justice, in the great assembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this respect, was to pay three drachmas to the persons injured, and two to the public.

Concerning wills, etc.

His law concerning wills has likewise its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the deceased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one that had not children, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every many the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that were not extorted by frenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife.

Regulations for women.

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women, their mourning and sacrifices, and endeavored to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits; the provisions they carried with them were not to exceed the value of an obolus; their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves, and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act anything else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on those occasions; or to bury more than three gar-

ments with the body, or to visit any tombs besides those of their own family, except at the time of interment.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which people lived in Attica, Solon observing this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants, who traffic by sea, do not use to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, that no son should be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taught him a trade. But that law was more rigid which (as Heraclides of Pontus informs us) excused bastards from relieving their fathers. To the victor in the Isthemean games, he appointed a reward of a hundred drachmas; and to the victor in the Olympian, five hundred. He that caught a he-wolf was to have five drachmas; he that took a she-wolf, one: and the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices which he fixes in his sixteenth table for select victims were probably much higher than the common, yet they are small in comparison with the present.

For encouraging trade.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs, but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs, should make use of it; but where the distance was greater, they

Public wells, and planting of trees.

were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a day at their neighbor's. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting of trees were also very judicious. He that planted any tree in his field was to place it at least five feet from his neighbor's ground; and if it were a fig tree or an olive, nine; for these extend their roots further than others, and their neighborhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit or a ditch was to dig it as far from another man's ground, as it was deep; and if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them about three hundred feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers, but oil: and whoever presumed to export anything else, the archon was solemnly to declare him accursed, or to pay himself a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. This law is in the first table. *As to oil.*

He likewise enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beasts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up bound to a log four cubits long; an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal. *Damage from beasts.*

But the wisdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners is a little dubious; because it forbids *Naturalization.*

the freedom of the city to be granted to any but such as are forever exiled from their own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their own family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade.

Public entertainments.

That law is peculiar to Solon, which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called Parasitien. For he does not allow the same person to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refused to go when invited; looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

In force for a hundred years.

All his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written upon wooden tables which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the Prytaneum to this day. The Senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon; and the Thesmothetæ, or guardians of the laws, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself.

Senate establishes the laws.

Regulates the calendar.

Observing the irregularity of the months, and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called Hene kai nea (the old and the new); assigning the part of it

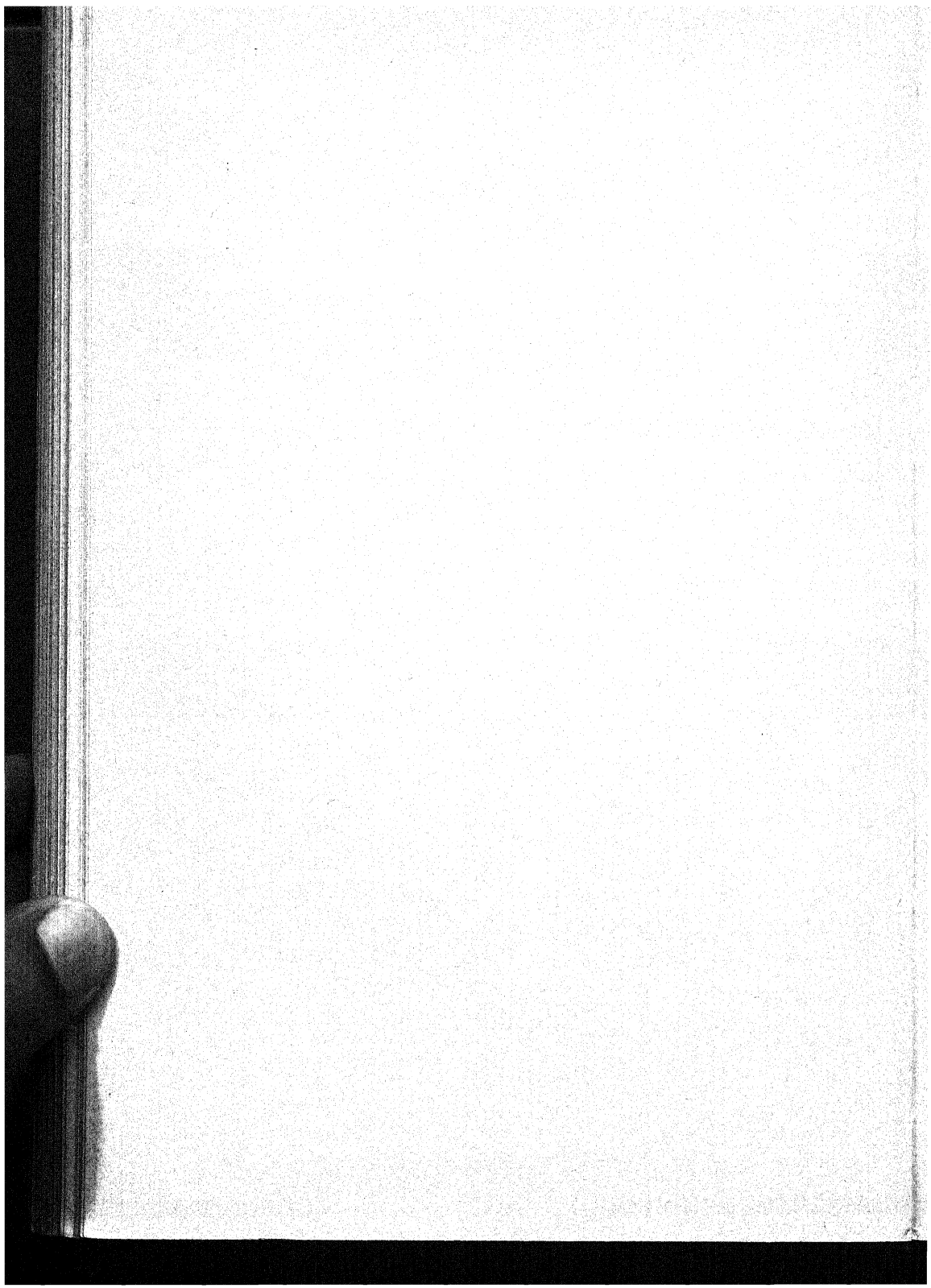
before the conjunction to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new.

Difficulty of explanation.

When his laws took place, Solon had his visitors every day, finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising him to make certain additions, or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. Under the pretence, therefore, of traffic he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years' absence. In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

Solon leaves Athens

[After a thirteen years' siege, 586-573, by Nebuchadnezzar, Tyre acknowledges the supremacy of Babylon. In 586, Nebuchadnezzar captures Jerusalem also.]



THE FALL OF TYRE AND THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

(B.C. 586)

G. MASPERO

THE wealth which accrued to the Tyrians from their naval expeditions had rendered the superiority of Tyre over the neighboring cities so manifest that they had nearly all become her vassals. Arvad and Northern Phenicia were still independent, as also the sacred city of Byblos, but the entire coast from the Nahr-el-Kelb to the headland, formed by Mount Carmel, was directly subject to Tyre, comprising the two Sidons, Bît-zît, and Sarepta, the country from Mahalliba to the fords of the Litany, Ushu and its hinterland as far as Kana, Akzîb, Akko, and Dora; and this compact territory, partly protected by the range of Lebanon, and secured by the habitual prudence of its rulers from the invasions which had desolated Syria, formed the most flourishing, and perhaps also the most populous, kingdom which still existed between the Euphrates and the Egyptian desert.

Importance and wealth of Tyre.

Tyre and Jerusalem had hitherto formed the extreme

outwork of the Syrian states; they were the only remaining barrier which separated the empires of Egypt and Assyria, and it was to the interest of the Pharaoh to purchase their alliance and increase their strength by every means in his power. Negotiations must have been going on for some time between the three powers, but up to the time of the death of Sargon and the return of Merodach-baladan to Babylon their results had been unimportant, and it was possible that the disasters which had befallen the Kaldâ would tend to cool the ardor of the allies. An unforeseen circumstance opportunely rekindled their zeal, and determined them to try their fortune. The inhabitants of Ekron, dissatisfied with Padî, the chief whom the Assyrians had set over them, seized his person and sent him in chains to Hezekiah. To accept the present was equivalent to open rebellion, and a declaration of war against the power of the suzerain. Isaiah, as usual, wished Judah to rely on Jahveh alone, and preached against alliance with the Babylonians, for he foresaw that success would merely result in substituting the Kaldâ for the Ninevite monarch, and in aggravating the conditions of Judah. Hezekiah agreed to accept the sovereignty over Ekron which its inhabitants offered to him, but a remnant of prudence kept him from putting Padî to death, and he contented himself with casting him into prison. Isaiah, though temporarily out of favor with the king, ceased not to proclaim aloud in all quarters the will of the Almighty.

Isaiah's foresight.

No one, however, gave heed to his warnings, either king or people; but the example of Phenicia soon proved that he was right. When Sennacherib bestirred himself in the spring of B.C. 702, either the Ethiopians were not ready, or they dared not advance to encounter him in Cœle-Syria, and they left Elulai[1] to get out of his difficulties as best he might. He had no army to risk in a pitched battle; but fondly imagined that his cities, long since fortified, and protected on the east by the range of Lebanon, would offer a resistance sufficiently stubborn to wear out the patience of his assailant. The Assyrians, however, disconcerted his plans. Instead of advancing against him by the pass of Nahr-el-Kebir, according to their usual custom, they attacked him in flank, descending into the very midst of his positions by the *col* of Legnia or one of the neighboring passes. They captured in succession the two Sidons, Bît-zît, Sarepta, Mahalliba, Ushu, Akzîb, and Akko: Elulai, reduced to the possession of the island of Tyre alone, retreated to one of his colonies in Cyprus, where he died some years later, without having set foot again on the continent. All his former possessions on the mainland were given to a certain Ethbaal, who chose Sidon for his seat of government, and Tyre lost by this one skirmish the rank of metropolis which she had enjoyed for centuries.

The Assyrian invasion.

Flight of the king of Tyre.

Sennacherib then turned against Ekron, and was about to begin the siege of the city, when the long-expected

Arrival of Egyptian aid.

[1] King of Tyre.

Egyptians at length made their appearance. Shabîtoku did not command them in person, but he had sent his best troops—the contingents furnished by the petty kings of the Delta, and the Sheikhs of the Sinaitic peninsula, who were vassals of Egypt. The encounter took place near Altaku, and on this occasion, again as at Raphia, the scientific tactics of the Assyrians prevailed over the stereotyped organization of Pharaoh's army: the Ethiopian generals left some of their chariots in the hands of the conqueror, and retreated with the remnants of their force beyond the Isthmus. Altaku capitulated, an example followed by the neighboring fortress of Timnath, and subsequently by Ekron itself, all three being made to feel Sennacherib's vengeance. "The nobles and chiefs who had offended I slew," he remarks, "and set up their corpses on stakes in a circle round the city; those of the inhabitants who had offended and committed crimes, I took them prisoners, and for the rest who had neither offended nor transgressed, I pardoned them."

Sennacherib's vengeance.

We may here pause to inquire how Hezekiah was occupied while his fate was being decided on the field of Altaku. He was fortifying Jerusalem, and storing within it munitions of war, and enrolling Jewish soldiers and mercenary troops from the Arab tribes of the desert. He had suddenly become aware that large portions of the wall of the city of David had crumbled away, and he set about demolishing the neighboring houses to obtain materials for repairing these breaches: he hastily

Hezekiah's preparations.

strengthened the weak points in his fortifications, stopped up the springs which flowed into the Gihon, and cut off the brook itself, constructing a reservoir between the inner and the outer city walls to store up the waters of the ancient pool. These alterations rendered the city, which from its natural position was well defended, so impregnable that Sennacherib decided not to attack it until the rest of the kingdom had been subjugated: with this object in view he pitched his camp before Lachish, whence he could keep a watch over the main routes from Egypt, where they crossed the frontier, and then scattered his forces over the land of Judah, delivering it up to pillage in a systematic manner. He took forty-six walled towns, and numberless strongholds and villages, demolishing the walls and leading into captivity 200,150 persons of all ages and conditions, together with their household goods, their horses, asses, mules, camels, oxen and sheep; it was a war as disastrous in its effects as that which terminated in the fall of Samaria, or which led to the final captivity in Babylon. The work of destruction accomplished, the Rabshakeh brought up all his forces and threw up a complete circle of earthworks round Jerusalem: Hezekiah found himself shut up in his capital "like a bird in a cage."

Sennacherib pillages Judah.

Meanwhile, day after day elapsed, and Pharaoh did not hasten to the rescue. Hezekiah's eyes were opened; he dismissed Shebna, and degraded him to the position of scribe, and set Eliakim in his place in the Council of

Hezekiah sues for peace.

State. Isaiah's influence revived, and he persuaded the king to sue for peace while yet there was time.

Sennacherib was encamped at Lachish; but the Tartan and his two lieutenants received the overtures of peace, and proposed a parley near the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field. Hezekiah did not venture to go in person to the meeting-place; he sent Eliakim, the new prefect of the palace, Shebna, and the chancellor Joah, the chief cupbearer, and tradition relates that the Assyrian addressed them in severe terms in his master's name: "Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me? Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh, King of Egypt, to all that trust on him." Then, as he continued to declaim in a loud voice, so that the crowds gathered on the wall could hear him, the delegates besought him to speak in Aramaic, which they understood, but "speak not to us in the Jew's language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall!" Instead, however, of granting their request, the Assyrian general advanced toward the spectators and addressed them in Hebrew: "Hear ye the words of the great king, the King of Assyria. Let not Hezekiah deceive you; for he shall not be able to deliver you: neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying, The Lord will surely deliver us: this city shall not be given into the hand of the King of Assyria, Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith

The Assyrian general's harangue.

Speaks in Hebrew.

the King of Assyria, Make your peace with me, and come out with me; and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern: until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards. Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, The Lord will deliver us!" The specified conditions were less hard than might have been feared. The Jewish king was to give up his wives and daughters as hostages, to pledge himself to pay a regular tribute, and disburse immediately a ransom of thirty talents of gold, and eight hundred talents of silver: he could only make up this large sum by emptying the royal and sacred treasuries, and taking down the plates of gold with which merely a short while before he had adorned the doors and lintels of the temple. Padî was released from his long captivity, reseated on his throne, and received several Jewish towns as an indemnity; other portions of territory were bestowed upon Mitinti of Ashdod and Zillibel of Gaza as a reward for their loyalty. Hezekiah issued from the struggle with his territory curtailed and his kingdom devastated; the last obstacle which stood in the way of the Assyrians' victorious advance fell with him, and Sennacherib could now push forward with perfect safety toward the Nile. He had, indeed, already planned an attack on Egypt, and had reached the Isthmus, when a mysterious accident arrested his further progress. The conflict on the plains of Altaku

Terms of peace.

Sennacherib's victorious advance.

had been severe; and the army, already seriously diminished by its victory, had been still further weakened during the campaign in Judea, and possibly the excesses indulged in by the soldiery had developed in them the germs of one of those terrible epidemics which had devastated Western Asia several times in the course of the century; whatever may have been the cause, half the army was destroyed by pestilence before it reached the frontier of the Delta, and Sennacherib led back the shattered remnants of his force to Nineveh. The Hebrews did not hesitate to ascribe the event to the vengeance of Jahveh, and to make it a subject of thankfulness. They related that before their brutal conqueror quitted the country he had sent a parting message to Hezekiah: "Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the King of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the Kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly; and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, Gozan and Haran and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arpad, and the King of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?" Hezekiah, having received this letter of defiance, laid it in the temple before Jahveh, and prostrated himself in prayer: the response came to him through the mouth of Isaiah. "Thus saith the Lord concerning the King of Assyria,

His return to Nineveh.

Sennacherib blasphemes Jehovah.

He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with a shield, nor cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the Lord. For I will defend this city to save it, for Mine own sake and for My servant David's sake. And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when the men arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses."

His destruction.

The Egyptians considered this event no less miraculous than did the Hebrews, and one of their popular tales ascribed the prodigy to Phtah, the god of Memphis. Sethon, the high priest of Phtah, lived in a time of national distress, and the warrior class, whom he had deprived of some of its privileges, refused to take up arms in its behalf. He repaired, therefore, to the temple to implore divine assistance, and, falling asleep, was visited by a dream. The god appeared to him, and promised to send him some auxiliaries who should ensure him success. He enlisted such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, shopkeepers, fullers, and sutlers, and led them to Pelusium to resist the threatened invasion. In the night a legion of field-mice came forth, whence no one knew, and, noiselessly spreading throughout the camp of the Assyrians, gnawed the quivers, the bow-strings, and the straps of the bucklers in such a way that, on the

The Egyptian legend.

morrow, the enemy, finding themselves disarmed, fled after a mere pretence at resistance, and suffered severe losses. A statue was long shown in the temple at Memphis portraying this Sethon: he was represented holding a mouse in his hand, and the inscription bade men reverence the god who had wrought this miracle.

Results of the disaster.

The disaster was a terrible one: Sennacherib's triumphant advance was suddenly checked, and he was forced to return to Asia when the goal of his ambition was almost reached. The loss of a single army, however much to be deplored, was not irreparable, since Assyria could furnish her sovereign with a second force as numerous as that which lay buried in the desert on the road to Egypt, but it was uncertain what effect the news of the calamity and the sight of the survivors might have on the minds of his subjects and rivals. The latter took no immediate action, and the secret joy which they must have experienced did not blind them to the real facts of the case; for, though the power of Assyria was shaken, she was still stronger than any one of them severally, or even than all of them together, and to attack her, or rebel against her now, was to court defeat with as much certainty as in past days.

CYRUS FOUNDS PERSIA

(B.C. 558)

GEORGE RAWLINSON

THE residence of Cyrus at the Median Court, which is asserted in almost every narrative of his life before he became king, inexplicable if Persia was independent, becomes thoroughly intelligible on the supposition that she was a great Median feudatory. In such cases the residence of the Crown Prince at the capital of the suzerain is constantly desired, or even required, by the superior power, which sees in the presence of the son and heir the best security against disaffection or rebellion on the part of the father.

Cyrus at the Median Court.

It appears that Cyrus, while at the Median Court, observing the unwarlike temper of the existing generation of Medes, who had not seen any actual service, and despising the personal character of the monarch, who led a luxurious life, chiefly at Ecbatana, amid eunuchs, concubines, and dancing-girls, resolved on raising the standard of rebellion, and seeking at any rate to free his own country. It may be suspected that the Persian prince was

not actuated solely by political motives. To earnest Zoroastrians, such as the Achemenians are shown to have been by their inscriptions, the yoke of a power which had so greatly corrupted, if it had not wholly laid aside, the worship of Ormazd, must have been extremely distasteful; and Cyrus may have wished by his rebellion as much to vindicate the honor of his religion as to obtain a loftier position for his nation. If the Magi occupied really the position at the Median Court which Herodotus assigns to them—if they "were held in high honor by the king, and shared in his sovereignty"—if the priest-ridden monarch was perpetually dreaming and perpetually referring his dreams to the Magian seers for exposition, and then guiding his actions by the advice they tendered him, the religious zeal of the young Zoroastrian may very naturally have been aroused, and the contest into which he plunged may have been, in his eyes, not so much a national struggle as a crusade against the infidels. It will be found hereafter that religious fervor animated the Persians in most of those wars by which they spread their dominion. We may suspect, therefore, though it must be admitted we can not prove, that a religious motive was among those which led them to make their first efforts after independence.

Reasons for the rebellion of Cyrus.

The Persians a religious nation.

According to the account of the struggle which is most circumstantial, and on the whole most probable, the first difficulty which the would-be rebel had to meet and vanquish was that of quitting the Court. Alleging that his

father was in weak health, and required his care, he requested leave of absence for a short time; but his petition was refused on the flattering ground that the Great King was too much attached to him to lose sight of him even for a day. A second application, however, made through a favorite eunuch after a certain interval of time, was more successful; Cyrus received permission to absent himself from Court for the next five months: whereupon, with a few attendants, he left Ecbatana by night, and took the road leading to his native country.

Cyrus leaves the Court.

The next evening Astyages, enjoying himself as usual over his wine, surrounded by a crowd of his concubines, singing-girls, and dancing-girls, called on one of them for a song. The girl took her lyre and sang as follows: "The lion had the wild boar in his power, but let him depart to his own lair; in his lair he will wax in strength, and will cause the lion a world of toil; till, at length, although the weaker, he will overcome the stronger." The words of the song greatly disquieted the king, who had been already made aware that a Chaldean prophecy designated Cyrus as future king of the Persians. Repenting of the indulgence which he had granted him, Astyages forthwith summoned an officer into his presence, and ordered him to take a body of horsemen, pursue the Persian prince, and bring him back, either alive or dead. The officer obeyed, overtook Cyrus, and announced his errand; upon which Cyrus expressed his perfect willingness to return, but proposed

Song of the dancing-girl.

that, as it was late, they should defer their start till the next day. The Medes consenting, Cyrus feasted them, and succeeded in making them all drunk; then mounting his horse, he rode off at full speed with his attendants, and reached a Persian outpost, where he had arranged with his father that he should find a body of Persian troops. When the Medes had slept off their drunkenness, and found their prisoner gone, they pursued, and again overtaking Cyrus, who was now at the head of an armed force, engaged him. They were, however, defeated with great loss, and forced to retreat, while Cyrus, having beaten them off, made good his escape into Persia.

Cyrus escapes.

When Astyages heard what had happened, he was greatly vexed; and, smiting his thigh, he exclaimed: "Ah! fool, thou knewest well that it boots not to heap favors on the vile; yet didst thou suffer thyself to be gulled by smooth words; and so thou hast brought upon thyself this mischief. But even now he shall not get off scotfree." And instantly he sent for his generals, and commanded them to collect his host, and proceed to reduce Persia to obedience. Three thousand chariots, two hundred thousand horse, and a million footmen (!) were soon brought together; and with these Astyages in person invaded the revolted province, and engaged the army which Cyrus and his father, Cambyses, had collected for defence. This consisted of a hundred chariots, fifty thousand horsemen, and three hundred thousand light-armed

Pursuit by Astyages.

foot, who were drawn up in front of a fortified town near the frontier. The first day's battle was long and bloody, terminating without any decisive advantage to either side; but on the second day Astyages, making skilful use of his superior numbers, gained a great victory. Having detached one hundred thousand men with orders to make a circuit and get into the rear of the town, he renewed the attack; and when the Persians were all intent on the battle in their front, the troops detached fell on the city and took it, almost before its defenders were aware. Cambyses, who commanded in the town, was mortally wounded, and fell into the enemy's hands. The army in the field, finding itself between two fires, broke and fled toward the interior, bent on defending Pasargadæ, the capital. Meanwhile Astyages, having given Cambyses honorable burial, pressed on in pursuit.

Victory of the Medes.

The country had now become rugged and difficult. Between Pasargadæ and the place where the two days' battle was fought, lay a barrier of lofty hills, only penetrated by a single narrow pass. On either side were two smooth surfaces of rock, while the mountain towered above, lofty and precipitous. The pass was guarded by ten thousand Persians. Recognizing the impossibility of forcing it, Astyages again detached a body of troops, who marched along the foot of the range till they found a place where it could be ascended, when they climbed it and seized the heights directly over the defile. The Persians upon this had to evacuate their strong position, and

Difficulties of further advance.

to retire to a lower range of hills very near to Pasargadæ. Here again there was a two days' fight. On the first day all the efforts of the Medes to ascend the range (which, though low, was steep, and covered with thickets of wild olive) were fruitless. Their enemy met them, not merely with the ordinary weapons, but with great masses of stone, which they hurled down with crushing force upon their ascending columns. On the second day, however, the resistance was weaker or less effective. Astyages had placed at the foot of the range, below his attacking columns, a body of troops with orders to kill all who refused to ascend, or who, having ascended, attempted to quit the heights and return to the valley. Thus compelled to advance, his men fought with desperation, and drove the Persians before them up the slopes of the hill to its very summit, where the women and children had been placed for the sake of security. There, however, the tide of success turned. The taunts and upbraidings of their mothers and wives restored the courage of the Persians; and, turning upon their foe, they made a sudden furious charge. The Medes, astonished and overborne, were driven headlong down the hill, and fell into such confusion that the Persians slew sixty thousand of them.

Repulse of the Medes.

Still Astyages did not desist from his attack. The authority whom we have been following here to a great extent fails us, and we have only a few scattered notices from which to reconstruct the closing scenes of the war. It would seem from these that Astyages still maintained

the offensive, and that there was a fifth battle in the immediate neighborhood of Pasargadæ, wherein he was completely defeated by Cyrus, who routed the Median army, and, pressing upon them in their flight, took their camp. All the insignia of Median royalty fell into his hands; and, amid the acclamations of his army, he assumed them, and was saluted by his soldiers "King of Media and Persia." Meanwhile Astyages had sought for safety in flight; the greater part of his army had dispersed, and he was left with only a few friends, who still adhered to his fortunes. Could he have reached Ecbatana, he might have greatly prolonged the struggle; but his enemy pressed him close; and, being compelled to an engagement, he not only suffered a complete defeat, but was made prisoner by his fortunate adversary.

Cyrus becomes king of Media and Persia.

Astyages captured.

By this capture, the Median monarchy was brought abruptly to an end. Astyages had no son to take his place and continue the struggle. Even had it been otherwise, the capture of the monarch would probably have involved his people's submission. In the East the king is so identified with his kingdom that the possession of the royal person is regarded as conveying to the possessor all regal rights. Cyrus, apparently, had no need even to besiege Ecbatana; the whole Median state, together with its dependencies, at once submitted to him, on learning what had happened. This ready submission was no doubt partly owing to the general recognition of a close connection between Media and Persia, which made the

The Medes submit to Cyrus.

transfer of empire from the one to the other but slightly galling to the subjected power, and a matter of complete indifference to the dependent countries. Except in so far as religion was concerned, the change from one Iranic race to the other would make scarcely a perceptible difference to the subjects of either kingdom. The law of the state would still be "the law of the Medes and Persians." Official employments would be open to the people of both countries. Even the fame and glory of empire would attach, in the minds of men, almost as much to the one nation as the other. If Media descended from her pre-eminent rank, it was to occupy a station only a little below the highest, and one which left her a very distinct superiority over all the subject races.

Media's position.

CONFUCIUS

(B.C. 550-478)

JAMES LEGGE

CONFUCIUS appeared, according to Mencius, one of his most distinguished followers (B.C. 371-288), at a crisis in the nation's history. "The world," he says, "had fallen into decay, and right principles had disappeared. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were waxen rife. Ministers murdered their rulers and sons their fathers. Confucius was frightened by what he saw—and he undertook the work of reformation."

The illustrious descent of Confucius.

The sage was born, according to the historian Sze-ma Ts'in, in the year B.C. 550; according to Kung-yang and Kuh-liang, two earlier commentators on his *Annals of Lu,* in 551; but all three agree in the month and day assigned to his birth, which took place in the winter. His clan name was K'ung, and it need hardly be stated that Confucius is merely the Latinized form of K'ung Fu-tze, meaning "the philosopher or master K'ung." He was a native of the state of Lu, a part of the modern Shan-

tung, embracing the present department of Yen-chow and other portions of the province. Lu had a great name among the other states of Chow, its marquises being descended from the Duke of Chow, the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty which had been founded by his father and brother, the famous kings Wan and Wu. Confucius's own ancestry is traced up through the sovereigns of the previous dynasty of Shang, to Hwangti, whose figure looms out through the mists of antiquity.

There was thus no grander lineage in China than that of Confucius; and on all his progenitors, since the throne of Shang passed from their line, with perhaps one exception, he could look back with complacency. He was the son of Heih's old age. That officer when over seventy years, and having already nine daughters and one son, because that son was a cripple, sought an alliance with a gentleman of the Yen clan who had three daughters. The father submitted to them Heih's application, saying that, though he was old and austere, he was of most illustrious descent, and they need have no misgivings about him. Ching-tsai, the youngest of the three, observed that it was for their father to decide in the case. "You shall marry him then," said the father, and accordingly she became the bride of the old man, and in the next year the mother of the sage. It is one of the undesigned coincidences which confirm the credibility of Confucius's history, that his favorite disciple was a scion of the Yen clan.

Confucius's parentage.

Heih died in his child's third year, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. Long afterward, when Confucius was complimented on his acquaintance with many arts, he accounted for it on the ground of the poverty of his youth, which obliged him to acquire a knowledge of matters belonging to a mean condition. When he was five or six, people took notice of his fondness for playing with companions at setting out sacrifices, and at postures of ceremony. He tells us himself that at fifteen his mind was set on learning; and at nineteen, according to the ancient and modern practice in China, in regard to early unions, he was married—his wife being from his ancestral state of Sung. A son, the only one, so far as we know, that he ever had, was born in the following year; but he had subsequently two daughters. Immediately after his marriage, we find him employed under the chief of the Ki clan, to whose jurisdiction the district of Tsow belonged, first as keeper of stores, and then as superintendent of parks and herds. Mencius says that he undertook such mean offices because of his poverty, and distinguished himself by the efficiency with which he discharged them, without any attempt to become rich.

Death of his father.

His early education and marriage.

In his twenty-second year Confucius commenced his labors as a teacher. He did so at first, probably, in a humble way; but a school, not of boys to be taught the elements of learning, but of young and inquiring spirits who wished to be instructed in the principles of right

He begins his work as a teacher.

conduct and government, gradually gathered round him. He accepted the substantial aid of his disciples; but he rejected none who could give him even the smallest fee, and he would retain none who did not show earnestness and capacity. "When I have presented," he said, "one corner of a subject, and the pupil can not of himself make out the other three, I do not repeat the lesson."

His disciples.

His professed disciples amounted to 3,000, and among them were between seventy and eighty whom he described as "scholars of extraordinary ability." The most attached of them were seldom long away from him. They stood or sat reverently by his side, watched the minutest particulars of his conduct, studied under his direction the ancient history, poetry and rites of their country, and treasured up every syllable which dropped from his lips. They have told us how he never shot at a bird perching nor fished with a net, the creatures not having in such a case a fair chance for their lives; how he conducted himself in court and among villagers; how he ate his food, and lay in his bed, and sat in his carriage; how he rose up before the old man and the mourner; how he changed countenance when it thundered, and when he saw a grand display of viands at a feast. He was free and unreserved in his intercourse with them, and was hurt once when they seemed to think that he kept back some of his doctrines from them. Several of them were men of mark among the

Confucius's habits.

statesmen of the time, and it is the highest testimony to the character of Confucius that he inspired them with feelings of admiration and reverence. It was they who set the example of speaking of him as the greatest of mortal men; it was they who struck the first notes of that pæan which has gone on resounding to the present day.

The wanderings of Confucius.

Confucius was in his fifty-sixth year when he left Lu; and thirteen years elapsed ere he returned to it. In this period were comprised the travels among the different states, when he hoped, and ever hoped in vain, to meet with some prince who would accept him as his counsellor, and initiate a government that should become the centre of a universal reformation. Several of the princes were willing to entertain and support him; but for all that he could say, they would not change their ways.

Confucius returns to Lu.

It was in his sixty-ninth year, B.C. 483, that Confucius returned to Lu. One of his disciples, who had remained in the state, had been successful in the command of a military expedition, and told the prime minister that he had learned his skill in war from the Master—urging his recall, and that thereafter mean persons should not be allowed to come between the ruler and him. The state was now in the hands of the marquis whose neglect had driven the sage away; but Confucius would not again take office. Only a few years remained to him,

and he devoted them to the completion of his literary tasks, and the delivery of his lessons to his disciples.

The death of his son and of his two favorite disciples.

The next year was marked by the death of his son, which he bore with equanimity. His wife had died many years before, and it jars upon us to read how he then commanded the young man to hush his lamentations of sorrow. We like him better when he mourned for his own mother. It is not true, however, as has often been said, that he had divorced his wife before her death. The death of his favorite disciple, Yen Hwui, in B.C. 481, was more trying to him. Then he wept and mourned beyond what seemed to his other followers the bounds of propriety, exclaiming that Heaven was destroying him. His own last year, B.C. 478, dawned on him with the tragic end of his next beloved disciple, Tze-lu. Early one morning, we are told, in the fourth month, he got up and with his hands behind his back, dragging his staff, he moved about his door, crooning over:

"The great mountain must crumble,
The strong beam must break,
The wise man must wither away like a plant."

Death and burial of Confucius.

Tze-lu heard the words and hastened to him. The master told him a dream of the previous night, which, he thought, presaged his death. "No intelligent ruler," he said, "arises to take me as his master. My time has come to die." So it was. He took to his bed, and after

seven days expired. Such is the account we have of the last days of the sage of China.

When their master thus died, his disciples buried him with great pomp. A multitude of them built huts near his grave, and remained there, mourning as for a father, for nearly three years; and when all the rest were gone, Tze-kung, the last of the favorite three, continued alone by the grave for another period of the same duration. The news of his death went through the states as with an electric thrill. The man who had been neglected when alive seemed to become all at once an object of unbounded admiration. The tide began to flow which has hardly ever ebbed during three-and-twenty centuries.

The grave of Confucius is in a large rectangle separated from the rest of the K'ung cemetery, outside the city of K'iuh-fow. A magnificent gate gives admission to a fine avenue, lined with cypress trees and conducting to the tomb, a large and lofty mound, with a marble statue in front bearing the inscription of the title given to Confucius under the Sung dynasty: "The most sagely ancient Teacher; the all-accomplished, all-informed King." A little in front of the tomb, on the left and right, are smaller mounds over the graves of his son and grandson, from the latter of whom we have the remarkable treatise called *The Doctrine of the Mean*. All over the place are imperial tablets of different dynasties, with glowing tributes to the one man whom China delights to honor; and on the right of the grandson's mound is

Tomb of Confucius.

a small house, said to mark the place of the hut where Tze-kung passed his nearly five years of loving vigil. On the mound grow cypresses, acacias, what is called "the crystal tree," said not to be elsewhere found, and the *Achillea,* the plant whose stalks were employed in ancient times for purposes of divination.

His numerous descendants.

The adjoining city is still the home of the K'ung family; and there are said to be in it between 40,000 and 50,000 of the descendants of the sage.

His most important literary work.

Confucius said that "by the *Spring and Autumn*[1] men would know him and men would condemn him." It certainly obliges us to make a large deduction from our estimate of his character and of the beneficial influence which he has exerted. The examination of his literary labors does not on the whole increase our appreciation of him. We get a higher idea of the man from the accounts which his disciples have given us of his intercourse and conversations with them, and the attempts which they made to present his teachings in some systematic form. If he could not arrest the progress of disorder in his country, nor throw out principles which should be helpful in guiding it to a better state under some new constitutional system, he gave important lessons for the formation of individual character, and the manner in which one's duties in the relations of society should be discharged.

Foremost among these we must rank his distinct

[1] The *Ch'un Ts'in,* his last literary labor.

enunciation of "the golden rule," deduced by him from his study of man's mental constitution. Several times he gave that rule in express words: "What you do not like when done to yourself do not do to others." The peculiar nature of the Chinese language enabled him to express this rule by one character, which, for want of a better term, we may translate in English by "reciprocity." When the ideogram is looked at, it tells the meaning to the eye—"a thing seen weightier than a thing heard." It is composed of two other characters, one denoting "heart," and the other—itself composite—denoting "as." Tze-kung once asked if there were any one word which would serve as a rule of practice for all one's life, and the Master replied, yes, naming this character (*shu*), the "as heart," my heart, that is, in sympathy with yours; and then he added his usual explanation of it, which has been given above. It has been said that he only gave the rule in a negative form, but he understood it also in its positive and most comprehensive force, and deplored, on one occasion at least, that he had not himself always attained to taking the initiative in doing to others as he would have them do to him.

Confucius enunciates "the golden rule."

How "the golden rule" is expressed in an ideogram.

A few of his characteristic sayings may here be given, the pith and point of which attest his discrimination of character, and show the tendencies of his views:

"What the superior man seeks is himself; what the small man seeks is in others."

Some of Confucius's maxims.

"A poor man who does not flatter, and a rich man

who is not proud, are passable characters; but they are not equal to the poor who are yet cheerful, and the rich who yet love the rules of propriety."

"Learning, undigested by thought, is labor lost; thought, unassisted by learning, is perilous."

"In style all that is required is that it conveys the meaning."

"The cautious seldom err."

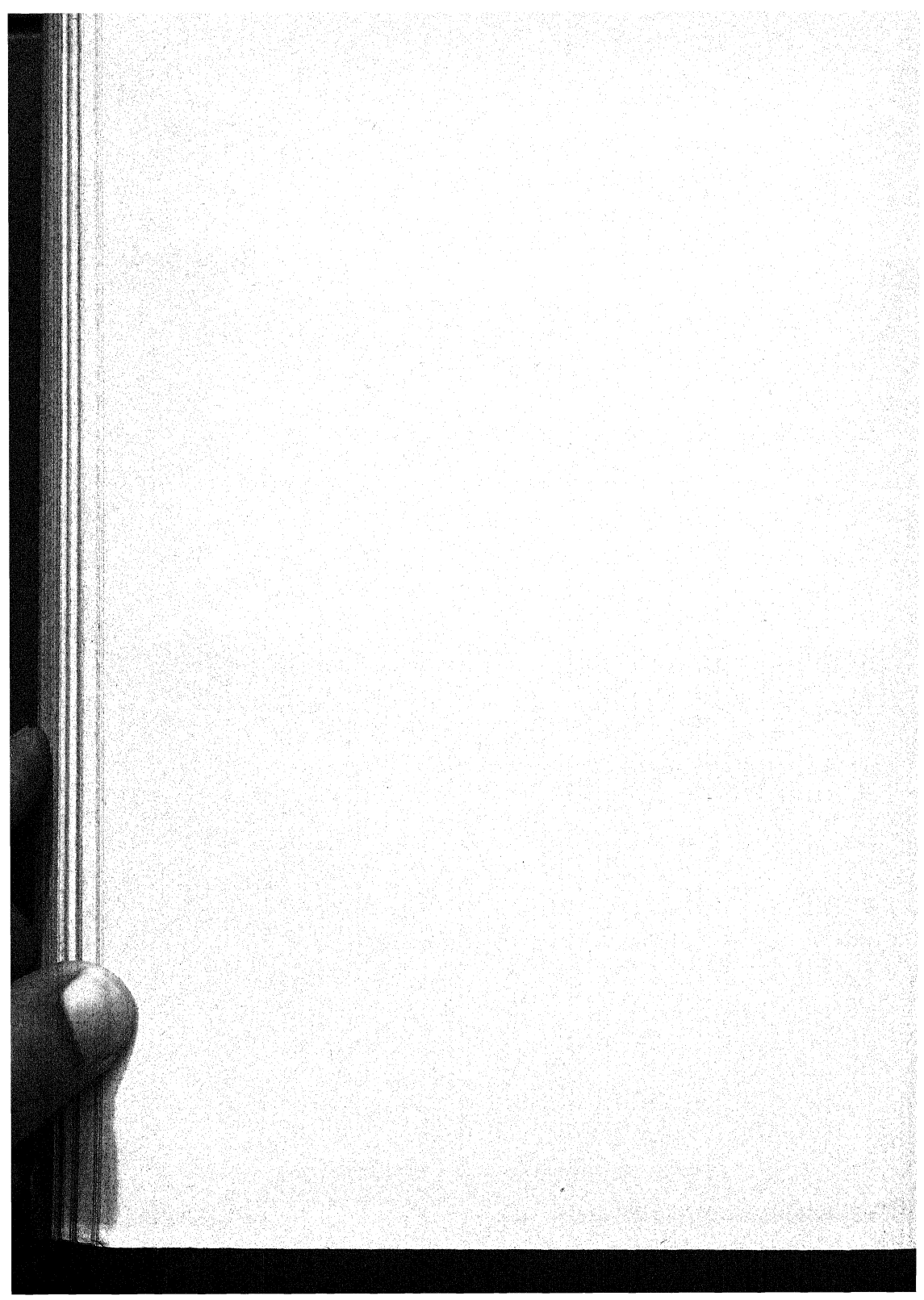
Sententious sayings like these have gone far to form the ordinary Chinese character. Hundreds of thousands of the literati can repeat every sentence in the classical books; the masses of the people have scores of the Confucian maxims, and little else of an ethical nature, in their memories,—and with a beneficial result.

His religion and philosophy.

Confucius laid no claim, it has been seen, to divine revelations. Twice or thrice he did vaguely intimate that he had a mission from heaven; and that until it was accomplished he was safe against all attempts to injure him; but his teachings were singularly devoid of reference to anything but what was seen and temporal. Man as he is, and the duties belonging to him in society, were all that he concerned himself about. Man's nature was from God; the harmonious acting out of it was obedience to the will of God; and the violation of it was disobedience. His teaching was thus hardly more than a pure secularism. He had faith in man, man made for society, but he did not care to follow him out of society, nor to present to him motives of conduct derived from

the consideration of a future state. Good and evil would be recompensed by the natural issues of conduct within the sphere of time,—if not in the person of the actor, yet in the persons of his descendants. If there were any joys of heaven to reward virtue, terrors of future retribution to punish vice, the sage took no heed of the one or the other.

Issues of conduct.



THE CONQUEST OF LYDIA

(B.C. 548)

HERODOTUS

HAVING passed the Halys with the forces under his command, Crœsus entered the district of Cappadocia, which is called Pteria. It lies in the neighborhood of the city of Sinôpé upon the Euxine, and is the strongest position in the whole country thereabout. Here Crœsus pitched his camp, and began to ravage the fields of the Syrians. He besieged and took the chief city of the Pterians, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery: he likewise made himself master of the surrounding villages. Thus he brought ruin on the Syrians, who were guilty of no offence toward him. Meanwhile, Cyrus had levied an army and marched against Crœsus, increasing his numbers at every step by the forces of the nations that lay in his way. Before beginning his march he had sent heralds to the Ionians, with an invitation to them to revolt from the Lydian king: they, however, had refused compliance. Cyrus, notwithstanding, marched against the enemy, and en-

The conquests of Crœsus.

Cyrus marches against Crœsus.

Bloody combat at Pteria.

camped opposite them in the district of Pteria, where the trial of strength took place between the contending powers. The combat was hot and bloody, and upon both sides the number of the slain was great; nor had victory declared in favor of either party, when night came down upon the battlefield. Thus both armies fought valiantly.

Crœsus laid the blame of his ill success on the number of his troops, which fell very short of the enemy; and as on the next day Cyrus did not repeat the attack, he set off on his return to Sardis, intending to collect his allies and renew the contest in the spring.

Cyrus attacks the Lydian monarch.

Cyrus, however, when Crœsus broke up so suddenly from his quarters after the battle of Pteria, conceiving that he had marched away with the intention of disbanding his army, considered a little, and soon saw that it was advisable for him to advance upon Sardis with all haste, before the Lydians could get their forces together a second time. Having thus determined, he lost no time in carrying out his plan. He marched forward with such speed that he was himself the first to announce his coming to the Lydian king. That monarch, placed in the utmost difficulty by the turn of events, which had gone so entirely against all his calculations, nevertheless led out the Lydians to battle. In all Asia there was not at that time a braver or more warlike people. Their manner of fighting was on horseback; they carried long lances, and were clever in the management of their steeds.

Bravery of the Lydians.

The two armies met in the plains before Sardis. It is a vast flat, bare of trees, watered by the Hyllus and a number of other streams, which all flow into one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This river rises in the sacred mountain of the Dindymenian Mother,[1] and falls into the sea near the town of Phocea.

Cyrus resorts to a stratagem.

When Cyrus beheld the Lydians arranging themselves in order of battle on this plain, fearful of the strength of their cavalry, he adopted a device which Harpagus, one of the Medes, suggested to him. He collected together all the camels that had come in the train of his army to carry the provisions and the baggage, and, taking off their loads, he mounted riders upon them accoutred as horsemen. These he commanded to advance in front of his other troops against the Lydian horse; behind them were to follow the foot soldiers, and last of all the cavalry. When his arrangements were complete, he gave his troops orders to slay all the other Lydians who came in their way without mercy, but to spare Crœsus and not kill him, even if he should be seized and offer resistance. The reason why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy's horse was, because the horse has a natural dread of the camel, and can not abide either the sight or the smell of that animal. By this stratagem he hoped to make Crœsus's horse useless to him, the horse being what he chiefly depended on for victory. The two armies then joined battle, and immediately the

[1] Cybele, the special deity of Phrygia.

Lydian war-horses, seeing and smelling the camels, turned round and galloped off; and so it came to pass that all Crœsus's hopes withered away. The Lydians, however, behaved manfully. As soon as they understood what was happening, they leaped off their horses, and engaged with the Persians on foot. The combat was long; but at last, after a great slaughter on both sides, the Lydians turned and fled. They were driven within their walls, and the Persians lay siege to Sardis.

The Lydians are overcome.

Thus the siege began. Meanwhile Crœsus, thinking that the place would hold out no inconsiderable time, sent off fresh heralds to his allies from the beleaguered town. His former messengers had been charged to bid them assemble at Sardis in the course of the fifth month; they whom he now sent were to say that he was already besieged, and to beseech them to come to his aid with all possible speed.

The Persians besiege Sardis.

Crœsus sends to his allies for aid.

The following is the way in which Sardis was taken. On the fourteenth day of the siege Cyrus bade some horsemen ride about his lines and make proclamation to the whole army that he would give a reward to the man who should first mount the wall. After this he made an assault, but without success. His troops retired, but a certain Mardian, Hyreades by name, resolved to approach the citadel and attempt it at a place where no guards were ever set. On this side the rock was so precipitous, and the citadel (as it seemed) so impreg-

How Sardis was captured.

nable, that no fear was entertained of its being carried in this place. Here was the only portion of the circuit round which their old King Meles did not carry the lion which his leman bore to him. For when the Telmessians had declared that if the lion were taken round the defences, Sardis would be impregnable, and Meles, in consequence, carried it round the rest of the fortress where the citadel seemed open to attack, he scorned to take it round this side, which he looked on as a sheer precipice, and therefore absolutely secure. It is on that side of the city which faces Mount Tmolus. Hyreades, however, having the day before observed a Lydian soldier descend the rock after a helmet that had rolled down from the top, and having seen him pick it up and carry it back, thought over what he had witnessed, and formed his plan. He climbed the rock himself, and other Persians followed in his track, until a large number had mounted to the top. Thus was Sardis taken, and given up entirely to pillage.

Persians take Sardis.

With respect to Crœsus himself, this is what befell him at the taking of the town. He had a son, a worthy youth, whose only defect was that he was deaf and dumb. In the days of his prosperity Crœsus had done the utmost that he could for him, and among other plans which he had devised, had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on his behalf. The answer which he had received from the Pythoness ran thus:—

"Lydian, wide-ruling monarch, thou wondrous simple Crœsus,
Wish not ever to hear in thy palace the voice thou hast prayed for,
Uttering intelligent sounds! Far better thy son should be silent!
Ah! woe worth the day when thine ear shall first list to his accents."

When the town was taken, one of the Persians was just going to kill Crœsus, not knowing who he was. Crœsus saw the man coming, but under the pressure of his affliction, did not care to avoid the blow, not minding whether or no he died beneath the stroke. Then this son of his, who was voiceless, beholding the Persian as he rushed toward Crœsus, in the agony of his fear and grief burst into speech, and said, "Man, do not kill Crœsus." This was the first time that he had ever spoken a word, but afterward he retained the power of speech for the remainder of his life.

The dumb son of Crœsus speaks.

Thus was Sardis taken by the Persians, and Crœsus himself fell into their hands, after having reigned fourteen years, and been besieged in his capital fourteen days; thus too did Crœsus fulfil the oracle, which said that he should destroy a mighty empire,—by destroying his own. Then the Persians who had made Crœsus prisoner brought him before Cyrus. Now a vast pile had been raised by his orders, and Crœsus, laden with fetters,

Crœsus on the funeral pyre.

was placed upon it, and with him twice seven of the sons of the Lydians. I know not whether Cyrus was minded to make an offering of the first fruits to some god or other, or whether he had vowed a vow and was performing it, or whether, as may well be, he had heard that Crœsus was a holy man, and so wished to see if any of the heavenly powers would appear to save him from being burned alive. However it might be, Cyrus was thus engaged, and Crœsus was already on the pile, when it entered his mind in the depth of his woe that there was a divine warning in the words which had come to him from the lips of Solon, "No man while he lives is happy." When this thought smote him he fetched a long breath, and breaking his deep silence, groaned out aloud, thrice uttering the name of Solon. Cyrus caught the sounds, and bade the interpreters inquire of Crœsus who it was he called on. They drew near and asked him, but he held his peace, and for a long time made no answer to their questionings, until at length, forced to say something, he exclaimed, "One I would give much to see converse with every monarch." Not knowing what he meant by this reply, the interpreters begged him to explain himself; and as they pressed for an answer, and grew to be troublesome, he told them how, a long time before, Solon, an Athenian, had come and seen all his splendor, and make light of it; and how whatever he had said to him had fallen out exactly as he foreshowed, although it was nothing that especially concerned him, but ap-

Warning of Solon.

plied to all mankind alike, and most to those who seemed to themselves happy. Meanwhile, as he thus spoke, the pile was lighted, and the outer portion began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Crœsus had said, relented, bethinking himself that he too was a man, and that it was a fellow-man, and one who had once been as blessed by fortune as himself, that he was burning alive; afraid, moreover, of retribution, and full of the thought that whatever is human is insecure. So he bade them quench the blazing fire as quickly as they could, and take down Crœsus and the other Lydians, which they tried to do, but the flames were not to be mastered.

Cyrus relents.

Then, the Lydians say that Crœsus, perceiving by the efforts made to quench the fire that Cyrus had relented, and seeing also that all was in vain, and that the men could not get the fire under, called with a loud voice upon the god Apollo, and prayed him, if he had ever received at his hands any acceptable gift, to come to his aid, and deliver him from his present danger. As thus with tears he besought the god, suddenly, though up to that time the sky had been clear and the day without a breath of wind, dark clouds gathered, and the storm burst over their heads with rain of such violence, that the flames were speedily extinguished. Cyrus, convinced by this that Crœsus was a good man and a favorite of heaven, asked him, after he was taken off the pile, "Who it was that had persuaded him to lead an army into his

Apollo extinguishes the flames.

country, and so become his foe rather than continue his friend?" to which Crœsus made answer as follows: "What I did, O King, was to thy advantage and to my loss. If there be blame, it rests with the god of the Greeks, who encouraged me to begin the war. No one is so foolish as to prefer war to peace, in which, instead of sons burying their fathers, fathers bury their sons. But the gods willed it so."

Folly of war.

Thus did Crœsus speak. Cyrus then ordered his fetters to be taken off, and made him sit down near himself, and paid him much respect, looking upon him, as did also the courtiers, with a sort of wonder.

THE FALL OF BABYLON

(B.C. 538)

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

THE only hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a city so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities: whereof, though the town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it be well deemed that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much travail, and all in vain if they did not keep strict watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

The strength of Babylon.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their commanders, the consideration whereof ministered unto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians,

Its vastness.

and others quartered about their town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of Cyrus, who had, as it were, yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. While the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful gladness, that is the ordinary forerunner of sudden calamity, Cyrus, whom the Ordinance of God made strong and constant, and inventive, devised, by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured, which when by the labor of many hands he had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution; for he had left certain banks or heads uncut between the main river which surrounded the city and his own trenches.

Cyrus plans to turn the Euphrates.

Now Balthasar, finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, public plays and other pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his princes or nobility, besides his wives, courtesans and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burden of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honor of Bell, his most reverenced idol; or that it was

The great feast of Balthasar.

his birth, or coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no prince else could equal, but (using Daniel's words), "he lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven": for he and his princes, wives and concubines made carousing cups of the vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his own puppets, made of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone: *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos et lapideos deos laudare?* "How great a foolishness was it," saith St. Hierom, "drinking in golden cups, to praise gods of wood and stone?" While Balthasar was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seized him, as the "joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other." Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his Chaldeans, astrologians and soothsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honor in the kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the queen, hearing what had passed and of the king's amazement, after a reverence done, used this speech: "There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods, and in the days of thy father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him,

The hand writes on the wall.

The astrologers and soothsayers are unable to interpret.

whom the King Nabuchodonosor, thy father, the king (I say), thy father, made chief of the enchanters, astrologians, Chaldeans, and soothsayers, because a more excellent spirit and knowledge, and understanding, etc., were found in him, even in Daniel, etc. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation."

The queen suggests that Daniel be sent for.

This queen Josephus takes for the grandmother, Origen, and Theodoret for the mother of Balthasar; either of which may be true; for it appeareth that she was not any of the king's wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banqueting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the king in his distraction. And whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old queen remembered well what he had done in the days of Nabuchodonosor, grandfather to Balthasar, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

Daniel is brought in.

When Daniel was brought to the king's presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honor, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom Daniel made answer in a far different style from that he used toward his grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold Nabuchodonosor he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this king (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words: "Keep thy reward to thy-

self, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the king and show him the interpretation." Which, because he had performed, he gave him first the cause of God's just judgment against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the king and all his wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written large in Daniel, hath this effect, That forgetting God's goodness to his father, whom all nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgment of God's infinite power he restored him to both. This king, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead idols of gold, silver, brass, iron, stone and wood: and therefore those words from the oracle of a true God delivered (to wit), *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,* gave the king knowledge that God hath numbered the time of his kingdom, and finished it; that he was weighed in the balance of God's justice and found too light; and that his empire was divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

Daniel reads and interprets.

The very evening or night of this day wherein Balthasar feasted and perished, Cyrus, either by his espials, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this war, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the

king's head and the heads of his nobility were no less filled with the vapors of wine than their hearts with the fear of God's judgment, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great river of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose channel running, his army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the town lay buried (as the poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the Persian's way were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

The fulfilment.

Such Assyrian lords as had revolted from Balthasar and betaken themselves to the party of Cyrus did now conduct a selected company to the king's palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the king with his princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecy of Jeremy fulfilled, and that of Esay two hundred years before this subversion; who in his seventh and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His prophecy of this

Massacre of the revellers.

place he beginneth in these words: "Come down and sit in the dust, O Virgin Daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne," etc. And again, "Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O Daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms." For, though it can not be doubted that God used Nabuchodonosor and the Chaldeans to punish the idolatry of the Judeans, yet Esay teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgments was mixed with a righteous extremity. For (saith Esay) in the person of God, "I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst show them no mercy; but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son and the Nephew." And in the thirteenth, "Every one that is found shall be stricken through: whosoever joined himself shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished." So as there is no historian who was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happened, than Esay hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred years before anything attempted.

Jewish prophecies fulfilled.

The greatness and magnificence of Babylon, were it

not by divers grave authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of Saint Hierom, Solinus, and Orosius, Aristotle in the third of his *Politics*, the second chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the city knew not the rest was taken three days after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of Diodorus Siculus may be taken; who finds the compass at three hundred and threescore stadia or furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth that six chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to Ctesias, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with a hundred and fifty towers. Strabo, in the beginning of his sixteenth book of geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five furlongs, which make eight and forty miles and one furlong, but finds the walls far under that which Diodorus reports: and so doth Curtius measure their thickness but at two and thirty feet, and their height at a hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the city he gives the same with Siculus, and eight furlongs more. Herodotus finds a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For instance, it had a

Greatness and magnificence of Babylon.

The walls of Babylon.

hundred gates of brass, with posts and hooks to hang them on of the same metal; and therefore did the prophet Esay rightly entitle Babylon, The Princess and Glory of Kingdoms.

The destruction of the city.

But when Cyrus had won her, he stripped her of her princely robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his soldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY CAMBYSES

(B.C. 525)

G. MASPERO

AS soon as Cyrus was dead, Amasis prepared for war. Cambyses, seeking for a pretext to declare it, seized the first that offered itself. According to the Persians, he asked for the hand of the daughter of the old king in the hope that he would be refused and that he would have an insult to avenge: instead of sending his own daughter, Amasis sent Nitêtis, the daughter of Ouhabrâ. Some time afterward Cambyses, being with her, called her by the name of her pretended father. Upon this she said: "I perceive, O King, that you have no suspicion of the way you have been deceived by Amasis: he took me, and, having covered me with jewels, sent me to you as his own daughter. I am really the daughter of Apries, who was his lord and master until the day that he revolted, and, in concert with the rest of the Egyptians, put him to death." This discovery and the motive for a quarrel contained in it, aroused

Cambyses seeks war with Egypt.

Story of Nitêtis.

the anger of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, and drew his arms upon Egypt. In Egypt the story is related differently. Nitêtis had been sent to Cyrus and bore him Cambyses: the conquest was merely a revenge of the legitimate family upon the usurper Amasis, and Cambyses ascended the throne less as a conqueror than as the grandson of Ouhabrâ. It was by such a childish fiction as this, that the Egyptians, in their decadence, consoled themselves for their weakness and their shame. Always proud of their past glory, but incapable of vanquishing and ruling, they pretended that they were only vanquished and ruled by one of themselves. It was not Persia that imposed her king upon Egypt: it was Egypt that imposed hers upon Persia, and through Persia upon the rest of the world.

Egyptian version of this story.

For a long time the desert and the marshes formed a real bulwark for Egypt against the attacks of the Asiatic princes. Between the last important post of Syria Ienysos and Lake Serbônis, where the Egyptian outposts were situated, there is a distance of nearly ninety kilometres (fifty-six miles), which an army could not traverse in less than three days' march. In past centuries, the extent of the desert had been smaller: but the ravages of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans had depopulated the country and delivered into the power of the nomad Arabs regions that were formerly easy to cross. An unforeseen event helped Cambyses out of the embarrassment caused by the crossing of the desert. One of the generals of Amasis, Phanes of Halicarnassus, deserted and entered

Egypt's natural defences.

the service of Persia. He possessed judgment and energy, and a deep knowledge of Egypt. He advised the king to ally himself with the Sheikh, who ruled over this coast, and to demand a safe passage from him. The Arab stationed all along the way relays of camels laden with a sufficient quantity of water for the needs of an army. *Phanes deserts.*

On arriving at Pelusium, the Persians learned that Amasis was dead and that his son, Psammetichus III., had succeeded him. Notwithstanding their belief in their gods and in themselves, the Egyptians had been a prey to gloomy presentiments. It was not only the nations of the Tigris and Euphrates, but the whole of Asia, from the Ganges to the Hellespont, that was rushing upon the valley of the Nile and threatening to crush her. The people, disturbed with fears of the stranger, saw evil omens in everything, and interpreted the slightest natural phenomenon as a bad sign. Rain is rare in the Thebaid, and storms occur there only once or twice in a century. Several days after the accession of Psammetichus, "rain fell at Thebes in little drops—a thing that had never happened before." The battle that took place before Pelusium was conducted from beginning to end with a desperate bravery. Phanes had left his children in Egypt. His former soldiers, the Carians and Ionians in the service of Pharaoh, cut their throats before his eyes, poured their blood in a large vase half filled with wine, drank the mixture and furiously threw themselves into the hottest of the fight. Toward evening the Egyptian

Amasis is succeeded by Psammetichus III.

Ill omens.

The battle of Pelusium.

lines gave way and the defeat began. Instead of rallying the remnant of his troops and defending the passage of the canals, Psammetichus, losing his head, ran away to hide in Memphis. Cambyses sent to him a summons to deliver himself up, but the furious populace massacred the heralds. After several days of siege, the city was taken. Upper Egypt yielded without resistance. The Libyans and the Cyreneans did not wait to be asked to offer their tribute. One successful battle had sufficed to destroy the Empire of the Pharaohs.

Egypt is subjugated.

This sudden collapse of a power that had defied all the attacks of the East for centuries, and the fate of this king, who had mounted the throne only to fall from it, instantly filled contemporaries with astonishment and pity. It is related that ten days after the capitulation of Memphis, the conqueror wished to test the endurance of his prisoner. He saw his daughter dressed as a slave pass before him and his sons and the sons of noble Egyptians led to death, without losing any of his imperturbability. But when one of his former companions in pleasure walked past him, clothed in rags like a beggar, Psammetichus burst into sobs and beat his forehead in despair. Cambyses, surprised at this excessive grief in a man who had just shown such fortitude, asked the reason of it. To this question he replied: "O, son of Cyrus, my own misfortunes are too deep for tears, but not the affliction of my friend. When a man falls from luxury and abundance into misery at the threshold of old age,

Cambyses tries the endurance of Psammetichus.

one may well weep over him." When the messenger reported these words to Cambyses, he realized that they were true; Crœsus also burst into tears—for he was in Egypt with Cyrus—and all the Persians present began to cry. Even Cambyses was touched with pity. He treated his prisoner royally, and was probably going to place him as a vassal on the throne of Egypt, when he learned that Psammetichus was conspiring against him. He had him put to death, and confided the government of Egypt to the Persian Aryandes.

The Persian king has Pharaoh put to death.

All the civilized world of the ancients was now under a single sceptre for the first time: one might have asked if it would be possible to hold for a long time in the same empire the people of the Caucasus and those of Egypt, the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Turanians of Media, the Aryans of Bactria and the Semites of the borders of the Euphrates. Cambyses first tried to conciliate his new subjects by conforming to their customs and prejudices. He adopted the double cartouche, the protocol and the royal costume of the old Pharaohs; as much to satisfy his own personal animosity as to win the favor of the old loyalist party, he repaired to Sais, violated the tomb of Amasis and burned his mummy. This act of posthumous justice against the usurper accomplished, he treated Ladikê, the widow of his rival, very well, and sent her back to her relations. He ordered an evacuation of the great Temple of Nît, where the Persian troops were lodged to the great displeasure of the faithful, and

Cambyses tries to please the Egyptians.

repaired, at his own expense, the damages they had made. He carried his zeal so far as to be instructed in the religion, and was initiated into the mysteries of Osiris by the priest Uzaharrîsnîti. His dream was to make Egypt a basis of solid operations for the conquest of the whole of Africa. On the west, the renown of Carthage, increased by uncertainty and distance, excited his cupidity. At first he wanted to attack this by sea, but the Phenicians, who manned his flotilla, refused to serve against their old colony. Forced to undertake it by land, he sent from Thebes an army of 50,000 men to occupy the Oasis of Ammon and to open the way for the rest of the troops. They all perished in the sands of the desert, and the Persian Empire never succeeded in passing this frontier of Egypt.

His expedition to Carthage.

The enterprise toward the south appeared easier: it seemed as if by going up the Nile one might reach the very heart of Africa without any great difficulty. Since the retreat of Tanuatamanu, the kingdom of Napata had severed all relations with the nations of Asia. Attacked by Psammetichus I. and Psammetichus II., it had preserved its independence and had broken off relations with Egypt. The countries of lower Nubia, between the first and second cataracts, so thickly populated during the period of the great Egyptian kings, had become almost depopulated: the towns founded by the princes of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties were in ruins and their temples were beginning to disappear beneath the

The kingdom of Napata and its legends.

sands. Below the second cataract the kingdom of Napata began, divided, like Egypt, into two regions. The isolation in which these Egyptians had lived since they had lost Egypt had rather increased than lessened their renown. Almost invisible in the distance to the nations of the Mediterranean, they had gradually been invested with marvellous and half divine virtues. It was said that they were the largest and handsomest of men who lived up to a hundred and twenty years and more, that they possessed a marvellous fountain whose waters imparted perpetual youth to their bodies. Near their capital there was a meadow that perpetually furnished food and drink already prepared; any who wished could enter and eat to his content. Gold was so abundant that it was used for the commonest purposes, even for the chains of the prisoners: copper was rare and greatly prized. Cambyses sent some spies to explore the country, and on their report, left Memphis at the head of an army. Instead of ascending the Nile as far as Napata, he took the shorter route through the desert; but he had taken no precautions: provisions failed at a quarter of the march, and famine obliged him to return to Egypt after he had lost many of his men. This disaster exasperated him so much that he forgot a little of the diplomatic policy that he had shown up to now, and he let himself be carried away by the violence of his nature. The bull, Apis, had died during his absence, and the Egyptians, after having mourned for him during the prescribed number of days,

Cambyses decides to invade it.

The expedition fails.

were about to invest a new Apis with the rites, when the remnant of the Persian army re-entered Memphis. Cambyses, finding the city in festal array, imagined that it was rejoicing over his disaster. He summoned the magistrates and then the priests before him, and had them put to death without listening to their explanations. He then commanded the Bull to be led before him, and he himself plunged his dagger into its flank, which caused the death of the animal within a few days. This sacrilege excited more indignation in the hearts of the faithful than the ruin of their country had done: their hatred was redoubled when the Persian took as much trouble to wound their prejudices as he had formerly taken to concilate them. He entered the Temple of Phtah in Memphis and mocked at one of the figures that represented the god. He violated ancient sepulchres so that he might examine the mummies. The Aryans themselves and his courtiers did not escape his rage. He killed his sister, whom he had made his wife in spite of the law that prohibited marriages between children of the same father and mother. At another time, he pierced with his arrow the son of Prexaspes, buried alive twelve important Persians, and ordered the execution of Crœsus, of which he repented, and then, however, condemned the officers who had not executed the order that he repented of having given. The Egyptians maintained that the gods had driven him mad as a punishment for his sacrileges.

Cambyses kills Apis.

Cambyses violates tombs.

Cambyses returns to Asia.

There was nothing to keep him now on the banks of the Nile: he returned to Asia. He was in the northern part of Syria when a herald presented himself before him, and proclaimed, in the hearing of the entire army, that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, had ceased to reign, and summoned all those who had heretofore obeyed him, to acknowledge as their king Smerdis, son of Cyrus. Cambyses at first believed that his brother had been spared by the officer commanded to assassinate him: he soon learned that his orders had been only too faithfully executed, and he wept at the memory of this useless crime. He soon learned that the usurper was a certain Gaumâta, whose resemblance to Smerdis was so striking that even those persons who knew it were easily deceived. Gaumâta had a brother, Oropastes, to whom Cambyses had confided the superintendence of his household. Both of them knew of the death of Smerdis; they also knew that most of the Persians were ignorant of it and believed that he was still alive. Gaumâta profited by these circumstances to proclaim himself king, and his imposture was accepted everywhere; the western provinces of the Empire were coming to offer submission without any opposition when the herald met the army of Cambyses. At first thunderstruck with this news, Cambyses was about to march forward at the head of his troops, who were still loyal, when he died mysteriously. The inscription of Behistun insinuates that he killed himself in a moment of despair. Herodotus relates that in mount-

Gaumâta, the impostor.

Death of Cambyses.

ing his horse, the point of his dagger pierced his thigh in the same spot in which he had stabbed the Bull Apis. "Feeling himself seriously wounded, he asked the name of the place where he was, and was told that it was Agbatana." Not long before this, the oracle of Buto had announced that he would end his days in Agbatana. He had imagined it Agbatana in Media, where all his treasures lay, and had believed that he would die there in old age: but the oracle had meant Agbatana in Syria. When he was told the name of this place, it came back to him: he understood the meaning of the oracle and said: "It is here then that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, must die!" He died about twenty days afterward, leaving no posterity and having appointed no successor.

The oracle.

[Peisistratus rules as tyrant of Athens, 560-527, without, however, revoking Solon's constitution, and is succeeded by his son Hippias, 527-510. His brother, Hipparchus, being murdered in 514, Hippias revenges himself on the party of the murderers.]

EXPULSION OF THE PEISISTRATÆ

(B.C. 510)

WILLIAM MITFORD

PLUTARCH reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Peisistratus. The usurper, if he were such, fell soon after from his high situation; expelled by the united strength of Megacles and Lycurgus. This appears fresh proof in favor of Peisistratus. He flourished and enjoyed Solon's friendship while Solon lived: when he had lost that excellent man's support, his opponents acquired the superiority. But the confederate rivals could not long agree. Megacles sent proposals of reconciliation to Peisistratus; and, at the same time to evince his sincerity and to ensure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. Peisistratus accepted the condition. But a majority in the Athenian assembly must be procured to favor their views, or all their private compacts would be vain. The account, given by Herodotus, of the manner in which this was effected is among the strangest in all history; yet that author lived so nearly

Fall of Peisistratus.

within memory of the event, the story is so little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of so public a nature, that, though party prejudice is likely enough to have disguised it, we scarcely can suppose it wholly unfounded.

They found, we are told, a woman of the Peänian borough, named Phya, far exceeding common size; of low birth, and by occupation a garland-seller; but, with her extraordinary stature, well-proportioned and handsome. Her they dressed in a complete suit of armor, with every ornament that could add grace and splendor to a fine, natural figure; and seating her in a magnificent chariot, they drove into the city, heralds preceding, who proclaimed, "O Athenians, with willing minds receive Peisistratus, whom Minerva, honoring above all men, herself conducts into your citadel." The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Peisistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

The false Minerva.

Whatsoever the authority of Peisistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means supported, and in whatsoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death, his influence descended to sons worthy of such a father: but so entirely was the administration of the republic still conducted according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Peisistratus and his successors kings and

tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his successor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of his contemporaries, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as sons of Peisistratus, without saying which was the elder or the superior.

However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magistracies. But that power, which the favor of their party gave them, they used very advantageously for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted to us, on no less authority than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. Such were his virtues, his abilities, and his diligence, that the philosopher does not scruple to say the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus, however, introduced them more generally to the knowledge of the Athenians, by directing that a public recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the Panathenean festival. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Ceos, to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Desirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellow countrymen, while books were yet

Hippias and Hipparchus.

few, and copies not easily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, with short moral sentences engraved on the sides, to be erected in the streets and principal highways throughout Attica. Such are the anecdotes remaining of Hipparchus. Hippias was at the same time beneficially active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his superintendency the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burdensome offices, which before none could avoid. He prosecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rise principally under the Peisistratids. The administration of the commonwealth was at the same time conducted, in peace, and in war, happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, "Those tyrants singularly cultivated wisdom and virtue."

Good rule of Hippias.

The circumstances which produced the death of Hipparchus, the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common in conspiracies, wrapped in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must suppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens; yet did not satisfy Plato, who relates a different story. Succeeding writers have differed from both. But there is one circumstance, of principal historical consequence, in which all agree: it was private revenge, and not any

political motive, that induced Aristogeiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to conspire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the festival of Panathenea; because, part of the ceremony consisting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They engaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to suppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill-concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias, while he was directing the ceremony in the Cerameicus, a place in the suburbs: but, as they approached, they saw one of their fellow-conspirators familiarly conversing with him; for, says Thucydides, Hippias was easy of access to all. This excited a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they suddenly resolved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the city walls. There they so far succeeded as to kill Hipparchus; but Harmodius was also killed on the spot. Aristogeiton escaped the guards who attended Hipparchus, but, being taken by the people, was not mildly treated. Such is Thucydides's expression.

Mystery of the conspiracy.

Now it was, according to the testimony which Plato has delivered in very pointed terms, that the tyranny properly began. Anger at so atrocious a deed, together with uncertainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to severities. Many

The Tyranny.

Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to the former course was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellow-countrymen became necessary, not merely to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking around, therefore, for means of improving his connections among foreign states, he married his only daughter to Æantides, son of Hippovles, tyrant of Lampsacus, who had intercourse with the Persian court, and considerable interest there.

The Alcmæonids, ejected by Peisistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partisans of the family. They had settled themselves at Lypsydrium above Pæonia, so Herodotus describes the place, and had fortified it. But their hopes did not rest there: they were unceasingly watchful for opportunities to recover Athens. With this object in view, they omitted no means of preserving and increasing their consideration among the Grecian states. It happened that the temple of Delphi was burned. The Amphictyons, of course, were to provide for the rebuilding of it. The Alcmæonids offered for a certain sum to undertake the work. A contract was in consequence made with them, by which they were bound to erect a temple, according to a plan agreed upon, of Porine stone. It was, undoubtedly, a very desirable circumstance, for an exiled family, objects of persecution to the rulers of a powerful

The Alcmæonids.

state, to thus become connected with so respectable a body as the Amphictyons. But they used the opportunity to make all Greece in a manner their debtors, and even to involve the divinity of the place in obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the sumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole front of the temple of Parian marble. Another advantage, however, of still greater importance, they derived, as common report went in Herodotus's time, from engaging in this business. They found means to corrupt the managers of the oracle: in consequence of which, whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedemon to the god of Delphi, the answer constantly concluded with the admonition to the Lacedemon to give liberty to Athens.

Corruption of the oracle.

This artifice at length had the desired effect. Though Lacedemon was in particular alliance with the Peisistratids, and bound to them by the sacred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only was first sent under Anchimolius, who was defeated and slain. But the Alcmæonid party was gaining strength; the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedemonians, irritated by their loss and disgrace, prepared earnestly for revenge. They sent a larger army into Attica under their king, Cleomenes. It was joined by the Alcmæonids. A battle was fought at Pallenium, where the tyrants were defeated, and siege was laid to Athens. Little hope, however, was enter-

Invasion of Attica.

tained of taking the city by force, but some expectation was founded on intrigue. This also Hippias and his principal partisans dreaded, and therefore sent their children out of the garrison, to be conveyed to a place of safety. They fell into the enemy's hands; and the fathers, unable by an other means to save them, consented to surrender Athens and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegesistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Peisistratus.

The Lacedemonians.

The Lacedemonians were at this time by far the first people of Greece. Bound by their singular laws to a kind of monkish poverty, their ambition was unbounded. Masters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, they in a great degree commanded Peloponnesus. Still they watched every opportunity to extend their power. Whenever the Grecian states had war with one another, or sedition within themselves, the Lacedemonians were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the business wisely, and with great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority, or at least the influence of their state. One measure which they constantly practiced for this purpose was to favor aristocratical power; or rather, wherever they could, to establish an oligarchy; for in almost every Grecian city there was an aristocratical or oligarchal, and a democratical, faction; and

a few chiefs indebted to Lacedemon for their situation, and generally unable to retain it without her assistance, would be the readiest instruments for holding their state in what, though termed alliance, was always a degree of subjection.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions, which quickly arose there, gave great opportunity. By the late revolution, Cleisthenes, son of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, was of course the first person of the commonwealth. But he was a man not of those superior abilities necessary to hold the sway in a turbulent democracy. A party was soon formed against him under Isagoras, with whom most of the principal Athenians sided. The resource of Cleisthenes was therefore among the lower people. These being all-powerful in the general assembly, by their means he made some alterations in the constitution favorable to his own influence: particularly he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; instead of four, making the number of tribes ten, to which he gave entirely new names. It appears from Herodotus that Cleisthenes was at this time not less tyrant of Athens than Peisistratus had been. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal. In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory or exile, and sometimes death. We must not wonder, therefore, if the inferior party sometimes resorted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedemon. Cleomenes, vio-

Factions at Athens.

Cleisthenes and Isagoras.

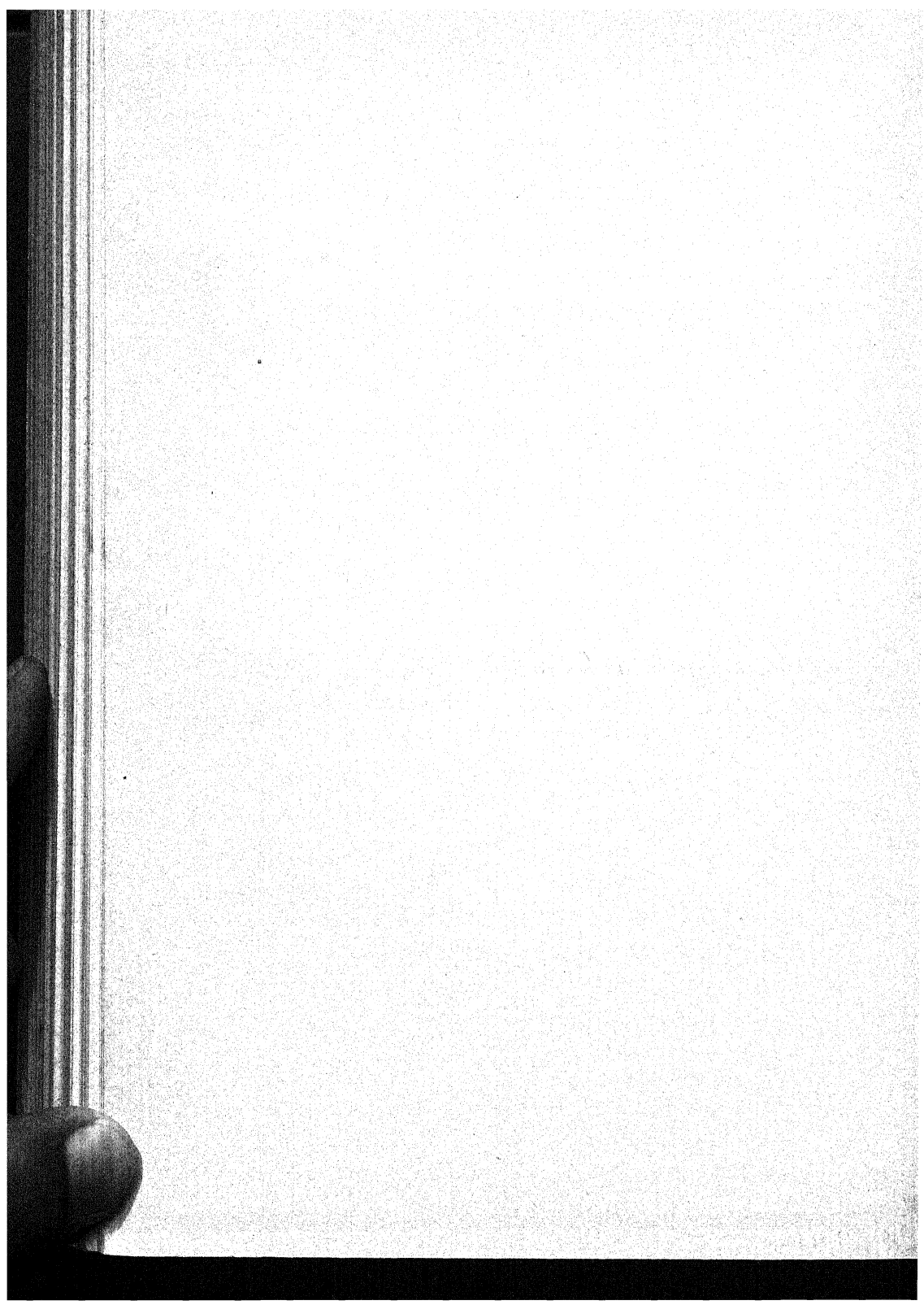
lent in his temper, but of considerable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Immediately entering into the interest of Isagoras, he sent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Cleisthenes and others of the Alcmæonids, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the sacrilegious execution of the partisans of Cylon. Cleisthenes obeyed the decree. Encouraged by such proof of the respect or dread in which the Spartan power was held, Cleomenes thought the season favorable for making that change in the Athenian constitution which would suit the views of Spartan ambition. He went to Athens, attended by a small military force, and at once banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of five hundred, and to commit the whole power of the commonwealth to a new council consisting of three hundred, all partisans of Isagoras. But Athens was not so far prepared for subjection. The five hundred both refused themselves to submit, and excited the people to opposition. The people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras, taking refuge in the citadel, were besieged there two days. On the third they surrendered, upon condition that the Lacedemonians might depart in safety. Isagoras went with them; but many Athenians of his party were executed. Cleisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Revolution at Athens.

Those who now took the lead in the Athenian government, though without opposition at home, were in extreme apprehension of the consequences of such a breach with Lacedemon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving them effectual support, they sent ambassadors to Sardis to endeavor to form a connection with Artaphernes, the Persian satrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and the European Greeks. The satrap received the deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that haughtiness which might be expected. Having admitted them to audience, he asked who they were, and from what part of the world they came, that they desired alliance with the Persians? Being informed, he answered them very shortly, "That if they would give earth and water to King Darius," the usual ceremony in acknowledging subjection, "they might be received into alliance; otherwise they must depart." The ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger of their country, consented to those humiliating terms. Such was the first public transaction between Greece and Persia.

Greek embassy to Persia.

[The mythical period of Roman royalty lasts from 753 to 510, when the Tarquins are expelled and Rome becomes a republic.]



EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS

(B.C. 510)

THOMAS ARNOLD

WHILE King Tarquinius was at the height of his greatness, it chanced upon a time that from the altar in the court of his palace there crawled out a snake, which devoured the offerings laid on the altar. So the king thought it not enough to consult the soothsayers of the Etruscans whom he had with him, but he sent two of his own sons to Delphi to ask counsel of the oracle of the Greeks; for the oracle of Delphi was famous in all lands. So his sons Titus and Aruns went to Delphi, and they took with them their cousin, Lucius Junius, whom men call Brutus, that is, the Dullard; for he seemed to be wholly without wit, and he would eat wild figs with honey. This Lucius was not really dull, but very subtle; and it was for fear of his uncle's cruelty that he made himself as one without sense; for he was very rich, and he feared lest King Tarquinius should kill him for the sake of

King Tarquinius sends to Delphi.

his inheritance. So when he went to Delphi he carried with him a staff of horn, and the staff was hollow, and it was filled within with gold, and he gave the staff to the oracle as a likeness of himself; for though he seemed dull, and of no account to look upon, yet he had a golden wit within. When the three young men had performed the king's bidding, they asked the oracle for themselves, and they said: "Oh, Lord Apollo, tell us which of us shall be king of Rome?" Then there came a voice from the sanctuary and said: "Whichever of you shall first kiss his mother." So the sons of Tarquinius agreed to draw lots between themselves which of them should first kiss their mother, when they should have returned to Rome; and they said they would keep the oracle secret from their brother Sextus, lest he should be king rather than they. But Lucius understood the mind of the oracle better; so as they all went down from the temple, he stumbled as if by chance, and fell with his face to the earth, and kissed the earth, for he said: "The earth is the true mother of us all."

Brutus interprets the oracle.

Now when they came back to Rome, King Tarquinius was at war with the people of Ardea; and as the city was strong, his army lay a long while before it, till it should be forced to yield through famine. So the Romans had leisure for feasting and for diverting themselves: and once Titus and Aruns were supping with their brother Sextus, and their cousin Tarquinius of Collatia was supping with them. And they disputed about their

wives, whose wife of them all was the worthiest lady. Then said Tarquinius of Collatia, "Let us go and see with our own eyes what our wives are doing, so shall we know which is the worthiest." Upon this they all mounted their horses, and rode first to Rome; and there they found the wives of Titus, and of Aruns, and of Sextus feasting and making merry. Then they rode on to Collatia, and it was late in the night, but they found Lucretia, the wife of Tarquinius of Collatia, neither feasting nor yet sleeping, but she was sitting with all her handmaids around her, and all were working at the loom. So when they saw this, they all said: "Lucretia is the worthiest lady." And she entertained her husband and his kinsmen, and after that they rode back to the camp before Ardea.

Story of Lucretia.

But a spirit of wicked passion seized upon Sextus, and a few days afterward he went alone to Collatia, and Lucretia received him hospitably, for he was her husband's kinsman. At midnight he arose and went to her chamber, and he said that if she yielded not to him he would slay her and one of her slaves with her, and would say to her husband that he had slain her in her adultery. So when Sextus had accomplished his wicked purpose, he went back again to the camp.

Then Lucretia sent in haste to Rome, to pray that her father, Spurius Lucretius, would come to her; and she sent to Ardea to summon her husband. Her father brought along with him Publius Valerius, and her hus-

Lucretia's husband and father swear revenge.

band brought with him Lucius Junius, whom men call Brutus. When they arrived, they asked earnestly: "Is all well?" Then she told them of the wicked deed of Sextus, and she said: "If ye be men, avenge it." And they all swore to her that they would avenge it. Then she said again: "I am not guilty; yet must I too share in the punishment of this deed, lest any should think that they may be false to their husbands and live." And she drew a knife from her bosom, and stabbed herself to the heart.

Lucretia stabs herself.

At that sight her husband and her father cried aloud; but Lucius drew the knife from the wound, and held it up, and said: "By this blood I swear that I will visit this deed upon King Tarquinius, and all his accursed race; neither shall any man hereafter be king in Rome, lest he do the like wickedness." And he gave the knife to her husband, and to her father, and to Publius Valerius. They marvelled to hear such words from him whom men called dull; but they swore also, and they took up the body of Lucretia, and carried it down into the forum; and they said: "Behold the deeds of the wicked family of Tarquinius." All the people of Collatia were moved, and the men took up arms, and they set a guard at the gates that none might go out to carry the tidings to Tarquinius, and they followed Lucius to Rome. There, too, all the people came together, and the crier summoned them to assemble before the tribune of the Celeres, for Lucius held that office. And Lucius spoke to them of all the tyranny of Tarquinius and his sons, and

The people revolt.

of the wicked deed of Sextus. And the people in their *curiae* took back from Tarquinius the sovereign power, which they had given him, and they banished him and all his family. Then the younger men followed Lucius to Ardea, to win over the army there to join them; and the city was left in the charge of Spurius Lucretius. But the wicked Tullia fled in haste from her house, and all, both men and women, cursed her as she passed, and prayed that the furies of her father's blood might visit her with vengeance.

Meanwhile King Tarquinius set out with speed to Rome to put down the tumult. But Lucius turned aside from the road, that he might not meet him, and came to the camp; and the soldiers joyfully received him, and they drove out the sons of Tarquinius. King Tarquinius came to Rome, but the gates were shut, and they declared to him, from the walls, the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him and his family. So he yielded to his fortune, and went to live at Cære with his sons Titus and Aruns. His other son, Sextus, went to Gabii, and the people there, remembering how he had betrayed them to his father, slew him. Then the army left the camp before Ardea, and went back to Rome. And all men said: "Let us follow the good laws of the good King Servius; and let us meet in our centuries, according as he directed, and let us choose two men year by year to govern us instead of a king." Then the people met in their centuries in the Field of Mars,

Tarquin is deposed.

and they chose two men to rule over them, Lucius Junius, whom men call Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius of Collatia.

But the people were afraid of Lucius Tarquinius for his name's sake, for it seemed as though a Tarquinius was still king over them. So they prayed him to depart from Rome, and he went and took all his goods with him, and settled himself at Lavinium. Then the senate and the people decreed that all the house of the Tarquinii should be banished, even though they were not of the king's family. And the people met again in their centuries, and chose Publius Valerius to rule over them, together with Brutus, in the room of Lucius Tarquinius of Collatia.

Brutus and Publius Valerius are chosen to rule.

Now at this time many of the laws of the good King Servius were restored, which Tarquinius the tyrant had overthrown. For the commons again chose their own judges to try all causes between a man and his neighbor; and they had again their meetings and their sacrifices in the city and in the country, every man in his own tribe and in his own district. And lest there should seem to be two kings instead of one, it was ordered that one only of the two should bear rule at one time, and that the lictors, with their rods and axes, should walk before him alone. And the two were to bear rule month by month.

Then King Tarquinius sent to Rome, to ask for all the goods that had belonged to him; and the senate, after a while, decreed that the goods should be given

back. But those whom he had sent to Rome to ask for his goods had meetings with many young men of noble birth, and a plot was laid to bring back King Tarquinius. So the young men wrote letters to Tarquinius, pledging to him their faith, and among them were Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus. But a slave happened to overhear them talking together, and when he knew that the letters were to be given to the messengers of Tarquinius, he went and told all that he had heard to Brutus and to Publius Valerius. Then they came and seized the young men and their letters, and so the plot was broken up.

A plot for Tarquin's restoration.

After this there was a strange and piteous sight to behold. Brutus and Publius sat on their judgment-seats in the Forum, and the young men were brought before them. Then Brutus bade the lictors to bind his own two sons, Titus and Tiberius, together with the others, and to scourge them with rods, according to the law. And after they had been scourged, the lictors struck off their heads with their axes, before the eyes of their father; and Brutus neither stirred from his seat, nor turned away his eyes from the sight, yet men saw as they looked on him that his heart was grieving inwardly over his children. Then they marvelled at him, because he had loved justice more than his own blood, and had not spared his own children when they had been false to their country, and had offended against the law.

Brutus condemns his sons to death.

When King Tarquinius found that the plot was

broken up, he persuaded the people of Veii and the people of Tarquinii, cities of the Etruscans, to try to bring him back to Rome by force of arms. So they assembled their armies, and Tarquinius led them within the Roman border. Brutus and Publius led the Romans out to meet them, and it chanced that Brutus with the Roman horsemen, and Aruns, the son of King Tarquinius, with the Etruscan horse, met each other in advance of the main battles. Aruns seized Brutus in his kingly robe, and with the lictors of a king around him, levelled his spear, and spurred his horse against him. Brutus met him, and each ran his spear through the body of the other, and they both fell dead. Then the horsemen on both parts fought, and afterward the main battles, and the Veientians were beaten, but the Tarquinians beat the Romans, and the battle was neither won nor lost; but in the night there came a voice out of the wood that was hard by, and it said, "One man more has fallen on the part of the Etruscans than on the part of the Romans; the Romans are to conquer in the war." At this the Etruscans were afraid, and believing the voice, they immediately marched home to their own country, while the Romans took up Brutus, and carried him home, and buried him; and Publius made an oration in his praise, and all the matrons of Rome mourned for him for a whole year, because he had avenged Lucretia well.

Death of Brutus.

Then Publius called the people together in their centuries, and they chose Spurius Lucretius, the father of

Lucretia, to be their magistrate for the year in the room of Brutus. But he was an old man, and his strength was so much gone, that after a few days he died. Then they chose in his room Marcus Horatius. *Brutus's successors.*

But when King Tarquinius found that the Veientians and Tarquinians were not able to restore him to his kingdom, he went to Clusium, a city in the furthest part of Etruria, beyond the Ciminian forest, and besought Lars Porsenna, the king of Clusium, to aid him. So Porsenna raised a great army, and marched against Rome, and attacked the Romans on the hill Janiculum, the hill on the outside of the city beyond the Tiber; and he drove them down from the hill into the city. There was a wooden bridge over the Tiber at the bottom of the hill, and the Etruscans followed close upon the Romans to win the bridge, but a single man, named Horatius Cocles, stood fast upon the bridge, and faced the Etruscans; two others then resolved to stay with him, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius; and these three men stopped the Etruscans, while the Romans, who had fled over the river, were busy in cutting away the bridge. When it was nearly all cut away, Horatius made his two companions leave him, and pass over the bridge into the city. Then he stood alone on the bridge, and defied all the army of the Etruscans; and they showered their javelins upon him, and he caught them upon his shield, and stood yet unhurt. But just as they were rushing on him to drive him from his post by *Tarquinius gains the aid of Lars Porsenna.* *Horatius defends the bridge.*

main force, the last beams of the bridge were cut away, and it all fell with a mighty crash into the river; and while the Etruscans wondered, and stopped in their course, Horatius turned and prayed to the god of the river: "O Father Tiber, I pray thee to receive these arms, and me who bear them, and to let thy waters befriend and save me." Then he leaped into the river; and though the darts fell thick around him, yet they did not hit him, and he swam across to the city safe and sound. For this the Romans set up his statue in the comitium, and gave him as much land as he could drive the plow round in the space of a whole day.

But King Porsenna was greatly moved, and made the Romans offers of peace, to which they listened gladly, and gave up the land beyond the Tiber, which had been won in former times from the Veientians; and he gave back to them the hill Janiculum. Besides this, the Romans gave hostages to the king, ten youths and ten maidens, children of noble fathers, as a pledge that they would truly keep the peace which they had made. But it chanced, as the camp of the Etruscans was near the Tiber, that Clœlia, one of the maidens, escaped with her fellows, and fled to the brink of the river, and as the Etruscans pursued them, Clœlia spoke to the other maidens, and persuaded them, and they rushed all into the water, and swam across the river, and got safely over. At this King Porsenna marvelled more than ever, and when the Romans sent back Clœlia and her fellows to

Clœlia swims across the Tiber.

him, for they kept their faith truly, he bade her go home free, and he gave her some of the youth also who were hostages, to choose whom she would; and she chose those who were of tenderest age, and King Porsenna set them free. Then the Romans gave lands to Caius, and set up a statue of Clœlia in the highest part of the Sacred Way; and King Porsenna led away his army home in peace.

So Tarquinius, seeing that there was no more hope of aid from King Porsenna, left Clusium and went to Tusculum of the Latins; for Mamilius Octavius, the chief of the Tusculans, had married his daughter, and he hoped that the Latins would restore him to Rome, for their cities were many, and when he had been king he had favored them rather than the Romans.

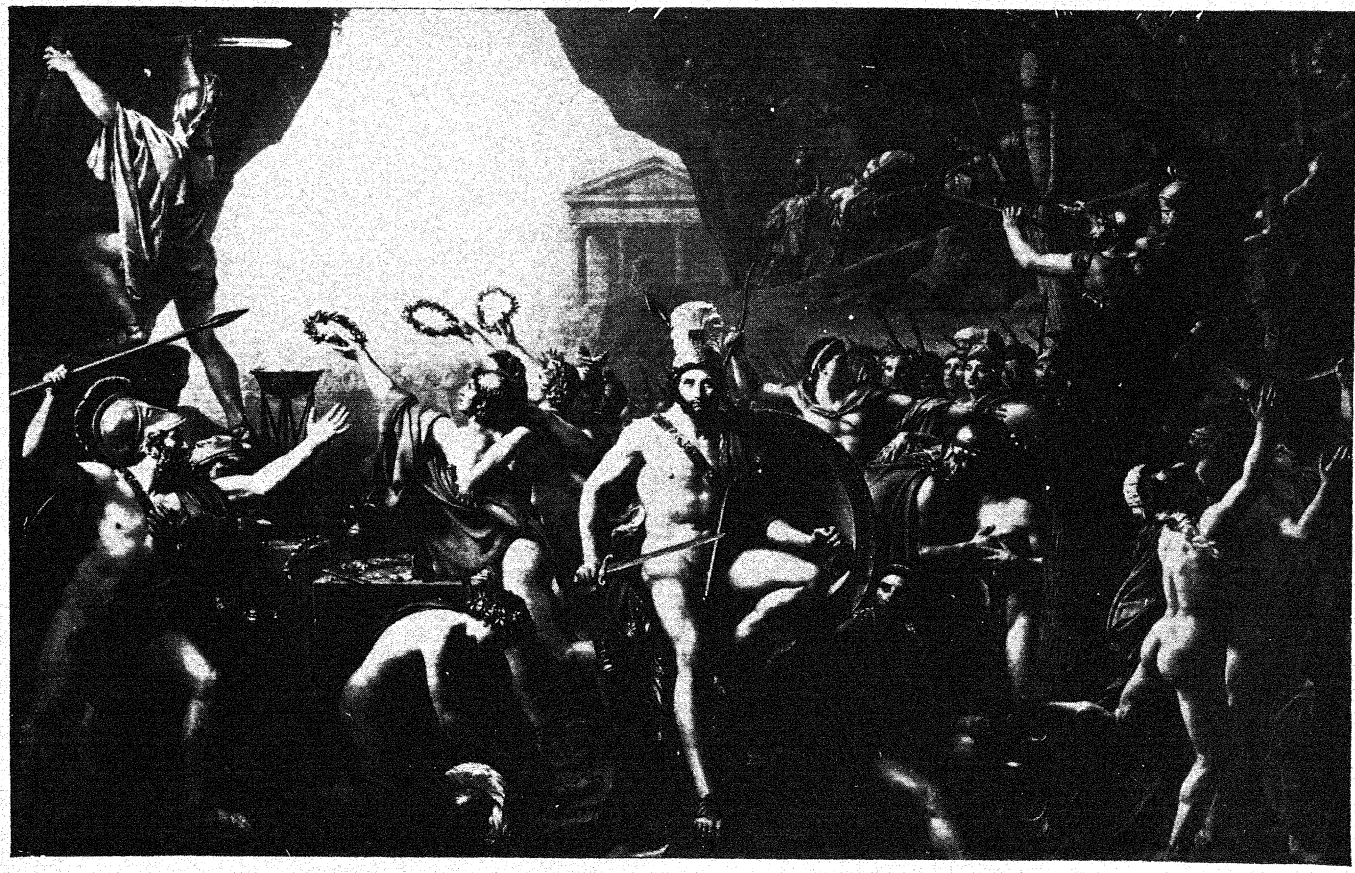
So after a time some thirty cities of the Latins joined together and made Octavius Mamilius their general, and declared war against the Romans. Now Publius Valerius was dead, and the Romans so loved and honored him that they buried him within the city, near the hill Velia, and all the matrons of Rome had mourned for him for a whole year; also because the Romans had the Sabines for their enemies as well as the Latins, they had made one man to be their ruler for a time instead of two; and he was called the Master of the people, or the commander, and he had all the power which the kings of Rome had in times past. So Aulus Postumius was appointed Master of the people at this time, and Titus

The Latins make war on Rome.

Æbutius was the chief or Master of the horsemen; and they led out the whole force of the Romans, and met the Latins by the lake Regillus, in the country of Tusculum.

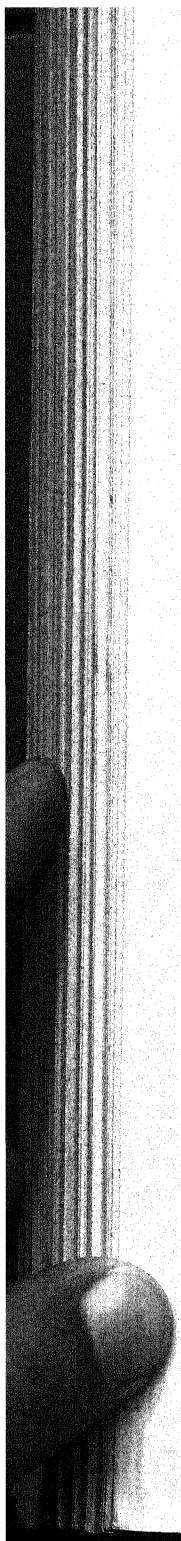
Battle of Lake Regillus.

Then the Romans and the Latins joined battle by the lake Regillus. There might you see King Tarquinius, though far advanced in years, yet mounted on his horse and bearing his lance in his hand as bravely as though he were still young. There was his son Tarquinius, leading on to battle all the band of the house of the Tarquinii, whom the Romans had banished for their name's sake, and who thought it a proud thing to win back their country by their swords, and to become again the royal house, to give a king to the Romans. And on the side of the Romans might be seen Aulus Postumius, the Master of the people, and Titus Æbutius, the Master of the horsemen. There also was Titus Herminius, who had fought on the bridge by the side of Horatius Cocles, on the day when they saved Rome from King Porsenna. But Titus drew back, and sheltered himself amid his band; and Marcus rode after him in his fury, and plunged into the midst of the enemy, and a Latin ran a lance into his side as he was rushing on; but his horse stayed not in his career till Marcus dropped from him dead upon the ground. Then the Romans feared yet more, and the Tarquinii charged yet more vehemently, till Aulus, the leader of the Romans, rode up with his own chosen band; and he bade them level their lances, and slay all whose faces were toward them, whether they



LEONIDAS AT THERMOPYLAE (*Page* 209)

FROM THE PAINTING BY DAVID



were friends or foes. So the Romans turned from their flight, and Aulus and his chosen band fell upon the Tarquinii; and Aulus prayed, and vowed that he would raise a temple to Castor and to Pollux, the twin heroes, if they would aid him to win the battle; and he promised to his soldiers that the two who should be the first to break into the camp of the enemy should receive a rich reward. When, behold, there rode two horsemen at the head of his chosen band, and they were taller and fairer than after the stature and beauty of men, and they were in the first bloom of youth, and their horses were white as snow. And the two horsemen on white horses rode before the Romans; and the enemy fled before them, and the Tarquinii were beaten down and slain, and Titus Tarquinius was slain among them; and the Latins fled, and the Romans followed them to their camp, and the two horsemen on white horses were the first who broke into the camp. But when the camp was taken, and the battle was fully won, Aulus sought for the two horsemen to give them the rewards which he had promised; and they were not found either among the living or among the dead, only there was seen imprinted on the hard black rock the mark of a horse's hoof, which no earthly horse had ever made; and the mark was there to be seen in after ages. And the battle was ended, and the sun went down.

Aulus prays to Castor and Pollux for aid.

The two mysterious horsemen.

Now they knew at Rome that the armies had joined battle, and as the day wore away all men longed for

tidings. And the sun went down, and suddenly there were seen in the Forum two horsemen, taller and fairer than the tallest and fairest of men, and they rode on white horses, and they were as men just come from the battle, and their horses were all bathed in foam. They alighted by the temple of Vesta, where a spring of water bubbles up from the ground and fills a small deep pool. There they washed away the stains of the battle, and when men crowded around them, and asked for tidings, they told them how the battle had been fought, and how it was won. And they mounted their horses and rode from the Forum, and were seen no more; and men sought for them in every place, but they were not found.

Then Aulus and all the Romans knew how Castor and Pollux, the twin heroes, had heard his prayer, and had fought for the Romans, and had vanquished their enemies, and had been the first to break into the enemies' camp, and had themselves, with more than mortal speed, borne the tidings of their victory to Rome. So Aulus built a temple according to his vow to Castor and Pollux, and gave rich offerings; for he said: "These are the rewards which I promised to the two who should first break into the enemies' camp; and the twin heroes have won them, and they and no mortal men have won the battle for Rome this day."

Aulus builds a temple to Castor and Pollux.

So perished the house of the Tarquinii, in the great battle by the lake Regillus, and all the sons of King Tarquinius, and his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, were

slain on that battlefield. Thus King Tarquinius was the ruin of all his family and of all his house, and he was left alone, utterly without hope. So he went to Cumæ, a city of the Greeks, and there he died. And thus the deeds of Tarquinius and of the wicked Tullia, and of Sextus their son, were visited upon their own heads; and the Romans lived in peace, and none threatened their freedom any more.

Death of King Tarquinius.

[The great city of Sybaris in Magna Greca is totally destroyed by her rival, Crotona, in 510. In 509, Cleisthenes reforms the constitution of Athens. There is a short reaction brought about by the Athenian nobility by the help of a Spartan force in 507, but a popular uprising defeats the allies and Cleisthenes returns. Sparta is now the first power in the Peloponnesus. Persia now attacks Greece in a series of campaigns, lasting from 500 to 449. After many reverses, the Greeks gains a great victory at Marathon (490) in the second campaign, and the third campaign is distinguished by the defence of the Pass of Thermopylæ by Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans and the great naval victory of Salamis (480).]



THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

(B.C. 490)

SIR EDWARD BULWER-LYTTON

AT length Darius resolved no longer to delay the accomplishment of his designs. He recalled Mardonius, whose energy, indeed, had not been proportioned to his powers, and appointed two other generals—Datis, a native of the warlike Media, and Artaphernes, his own nephew, son to the former satrap of that name. These were expressly ordered to march at once against Eretria and Athens. And Hippias, now broken in frame, advanced in age, and after an exile of twenty years, accompanied the Persian army—sanguine of success, and grasping, at the verge of life, the shadow of his former sceptre.

Expedition against Eretria and Athens.

On the Cilician coast the Persian armament encamped—thence, in a fleet of six hundred triremes, it sailed to Samos—passed through the midst of the clustering Cyclades, and along that part of the Ægean sea called "the Icarean," from the legendary fate of the son of Dedalus—invaded Naxos—burned her town and tem-

ples, and sparing the sacred Delos, in which the Median Datis reverenced the traditionary birthplace of two deities analogous to those most honored in the Persian creed [1]—awed into subjection the various isles, until it arrived at Eubea, divided but by a strait from Attica, and containing the city of the Eretrians. The fleet first assailed Carystus, whose generous citizens refused both to aid against their neighbors, and to give hostages for their conduct. Closely besieged, and their lands wasted, they were compelled, however, to surrender to the Persians. Thence the victorious armament passed to Eretria. The Athenians had sent to the relief of that city the four thousand colonists whom they had established in the island—but fear, jealousy, division, were within the walls. Ruin seemed certain, and a chief of the Eretrians urged the colonists to quit a city which they were unable to save. They complied with the advice, and reached Attica in safety. Eretria, however, withstood a siege of six days; on the seventh the city was betrayed to the Barbarians by two of that fatal oligarchical party, who in every Grecian city seem to have considered no enemy so detestable as the majority of their own citizens; the place was pillaged—the temples burned—the inhabitants enslaved. Here the Persians rested for a few days ere they embarked for Attica.

Fall of Eretria.

Unsupported and alone, the Athenians were not dismayed. A swift-footed messenger was despatched to

[1] The Sun and Moon.

Sparta, to implore its prompt assistance. The resource the Athenians had so much right to expect failed them. The Spartans, indeed, resolved to assist Athens, but not until assistance would have come too late. They declared that their religion forbade them to commence a march till the moon was at her full, and this was only the ninth day of the month. With this unsatisfying reply, the messenger returned to Athens.

The Athenians send to Sparta for aid.

The mighty thousands of the Mede and Persian landed on the Attic coast, and, conducted by Hippias among their leaders, marched to the plain of Marathon, which the traveller still beholds, stretching wide and level, amid hills and marshes, at the distance of only ten miles from the gates of Athens. Along the shore the plain extends to the length of six miles—inland it exceeds two.

It will be remembered that the Athenians were divided into ten tribes at the instigation of Cleisthenes. Each of these tribes nominated a general; there were therefore ten leaders to the Athenian army. Among them was Miltiades, who had succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Athenian people, and obtained from their suffrages a command.

The Athenian commanders.

Aided by a thousand men from Platea, then on terms of intimate friendship with the Athenians, the little army marched from the city, and advanced to the entrance of the plain of Marathon. Here they arrayed themselves in martial order, near the temple of Hercules, to the east of the hills that guard the upper part of the valley. Thus

encamped, and in sight of the gigantic power of the enemy, darkening the long expanse that skirts the sea, divisions broke out among the leaders;—some contended that a battle was by no means to be risked with such inferior forces—others, on the contrary, were for giving immediate battle. Of this latter advice was Miltiades—he was supported by a man already of high repute, though now first presented to our notice, and afterward destined to act a great and splendid part in the drama of his times. Aristides was one of the generals of the army, and strenuously co-operated with Miltiades in the policy of immediate battle.

Divisions among the leaders.

The arguments of Miltiades convinced Callimachus, who knew well the many divisions of the city, the strength which Hippias and the Pisistratidæ still probably possessed within the walls, and who could not but allow that a superior force becomes ever more fearful the more deliberately it is regarded. He interposed his authority. It was decided to give battle.

Miltiades prevails.

On the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he is said to have dreamt a dream. He thought he was with his mother. In the fondness of human hopes he interpreted the vision favorably, and flattered himself that he should regain his authority, and die in his own house of old age. The morning now arrived that was to attest the veracity of the interpretation.

To the left of the Athenians was a low chain of hills,

clothed with trees (and which furnished them timber to break the charge of the Persian horse)—to their right a torrent;—their front was long, for to render it more imposing in extent and to prevent being outflanked by the Persian numbers, the centre ranks were left weak and shallow, but on either wing the troops were drawn up more solidly and strong. Callimachus, the Polemarch, commanded the right wing—the Plateans formed the left. They had few, if any, horsemen or archers. The details which we possess of their arms and military array, if not in this, in other engagements of the same period, will complete the picture. We may behold them clad in bright armor, well-proof and tempered, which covered breast and back—the greaves, so often mentioned by Homer, were still retained—their helmets were wrought and crested, the cones mostly painted in glowing colors, and the plumage of feathers or horsehair rich and waving, in proportion to the rank of the wearer. Broad, sturdy, and richly ornamented, were their bucklers—the pride and darling of their arms, the loss of which was the loss of honor; their spears were ponderous, thick, and long—a chief mark of contradistinction from the slight shaft of Persia—and, with their short broadsword, constituted their main weapons of offence. No Greek army marched to battle without vows, and sacrifice, and prayer—and now, in the stillness of the pause, the soothsayers examined the entrails of the victims—they were propitious, and Callimachus solemnly vowed to Diana a

Disposition of the Athenian army.

Appearance of the Greeks.

The charge. victim for the slaughter of every foe. Loud broke the trumpets [2]—the standards wrought with the sacred bird of Athens were raised on high; [3] it was the signal of battle—and the Athenians rushed with an impetuous vehemence upon the Persian power. "The first Greeks of whom I have heard," says the simple Halicarnassean, "who ever ran to attack a foe—the first, too, who ever beheld without dismay the garb and armor of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of Mede had excited terror."

When the Persian army, with its numerous horse, animal as well as man protected by plates of mail—its expert bowmen—its lines and deep files of turbaned soldiers, gorgeous with many a blazing standard—headed by leaders well hardened, despite their gay garbs and adorned breast-plates, on many a more even field;—when, I say, this force beheld the Athenians rushing toward them, they considered them, thus few, and destitute alike of cavalry and archers, as madmen hurrying to destruction. But it was evidently not without deliberate calculation that Miltiades had so commenced the attack. The warlike experience of his guerilla life had taught him to know the foe against whom he fought. To volunteer the assault was to forestall and cripple the charge of the Persian horse—besides, the long lances, the

Advantages of attacking.

[2] The Goddess of Athens was supposed to have invented a peculiar trumpet used by her favored votaries.

[3] To raise the standard was the sign of battle.

heavy arms, the hand-to-hand valor of the Greeks, must have been no light encounter to the more weakly mailed and less formidably armed infantry of the East. Accustomed themselves to give the charge, it was a novelty and a disadvantage to receive it. Long, fierce and stubborn was the battle. The centre wing of the Barbarians, composed of the Sacians and the pure Persian race, at length pressed hard upon the shallow centre of the Greeks, drove them back into the country, and, eager with pursuit, left their own wings to the charge of Callimachus on the one side and the Platean forces on the other. The brave Polemarch, after the most signal feats of valor, fell fighting in the field; but his troops, undismayed, smote on with spear and sword. The Barbarians retreated backward to the sea, where swamps and marshes encumbered their movements, and here (though the Athenians did not pursue them far) the greater portion were slain, hemmed in by the morasses, and probably ridden down by their own disordered cavalry. Meanwhile, the two tribes that had formed the centre, one of which was commanded by Aristides, retrieved themselves with a mighty effort, and the two wings, having routed their antagonists, now inclining toward each other, intercepted the Barbarian centre, which, thus attacked front and rear (large trees felled and scattered over the plain, obstructing the movements of their cavalry), was defeated with prodigious slaughter. Evening came on:—confused and disorderly, the Persians

Retreat of the Persians.

now only thought of flight: the whole army retired to their ships, hard chased by the Grecian victors, who amid the carnage fired the fleet. Cynegirus, brother to Eschylus, the tragic poet (himself highly distinguished for his feats that day), seized one of the vessels by the poop: his hand was severed by an axe;—he died gloriously of his wounds. But to none did the fortunes of that field open a more illustrious career than to a youth of the tribe Leontis, in whom, though probably then but a simple soldier in the ranks, was first made manifest the nature and the genius destined to command. The name of that youth was Themistocles. Seven vessels were captured—six thousand four hundred of the Barbarians fell in the field—the Athenians and their brave ally lost only one hundred and ninety-two; but among them perished many of their bravest nobles. It was a superstition not uncharacteristic of that imaginative people, and evincing how greatly their ardor was aroused, that many of them (according to Plutarch) fancied they beheld the gigantic shade of Theseus, completely armed, and bearing down before them upon the foe.

Losses of each side.

So perished the hopes of the unfortunate Hippias;—obscure and inglorious in his last hour, the exiled prince fell confounded amid the general slaughter.

The moon had passed her full, when two thousand Spartans arrived at Athens: the battle was over and the victory won; but so great was their desire to see the bodies of the formidable Medes that they proceeded to

Marathon, and returning to Athens, swelled the triumph of her citizens by their applause and congratulations. *The Spartans arrive.*

The marble which the Persians had brought with them, in order to erect as a trophy of the victory they anticipated, was, at a subsequent period, wrought by Phidias into a statue of Nemesis. A picture of the battle, representing Miltiades in the foremost place, and solemnly preserved in public, was deemed no inadequate reward to that great captain; and yet, conspicuous above the level plain of Marathon, rises a long barrow, fifteen feet in height, the supposed sepulchre of the Athenian heroes. Still does a romantic legend, not unfamiliar with our traditions of the north, give a supernatural terror to the spot. Nightly along the plain are yet heard by superstition the neighings of chargers, and the rushing shadows of spectral war. And still, throughout the civilized world (civilized how much by the arts and lore of Athens!) men of every clime, of every political persuasion, feel as Greeks at the name of Marathon. Later fields have presented the spectacle of an equal valor, and almost the same disparities of slaughter; but never, in the annals of earth, were united so closely in our applause, admiration for the heroism of the victors, and sympathy for the holiness of their cause. It was the first great victory of *opinion!* and its fruits were reaped, not by Athens only, but by all Greece then, as by all time thereafter, in a mighty and imperishable harvest—the invisible not less than the actual force of despotism was

Effect of Marathon upon civilization.

broken. Nor was it only that the dread which had hung upon the Median name was dispelled—nor that free states were taught their pre-eminence over the unwieldy empires which the Persian conquerors had destroyed,—a greater lesson was bestowed on Greece, when she discovered that the monarch of Asia could not force upon a petty state the fashion of its government or the selection of its rulers. The defeat of Hippias was of no less value than that of Darius, and the same blow which struck down the foreign invader smote also the hopes of domestic tyrants.

Marathon a second Solon.

One successful battle for liberty quickens and exalts that proud and emulous spirit from which are called forth the civilization and the arts that liberty should produce more rapidly than centuries of repose. To Athens the victory of Marathon was a second Solon.

THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

(B.C. 480)

PLUTARCH

THE news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium, when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valor, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbors or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians. "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to

The fleet returns.

sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Athens can obtain no help.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succors. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Beotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as they had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the Isthmus, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude, set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place;

and the priests, finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received, he told them that, by *wooden walls,* there could not possibly be any thing meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine,* not *wretched* and *unfortunate,* as formerly, signified by such an epithet that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships, and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

Themistocles resorts to oracles.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trezene, where they were received with a generous hospitality.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of Areopagus distributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight drachmas; which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for, he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbor of Pireus, the Egis was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked everything, under pretence of searching for

it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public use; and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The Athenians embark.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leaped into the sea, and to have swum by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they show us to this day a place called Synos Sema, where they tell us that dog was buried.

Xanthippus's faithful dog.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger, he proposed to set sail for the Isthmus, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it.

While Themistocles was maintaining his arguments upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the

right of the fleet,[1] which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing toward the harbor of Phalerius in Attica, and covering all the neighboring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked toward the Isthmus. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits,[2] and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction, and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the King of Persia, with orders to tell him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but

Terror inspired by the enemy.

[1] The owl was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of the Athenians.

[2] If the confederates had quitted the Straits of Salamis, where they could equal the Persians in the line of battle, such of the Athenians as were on that island must have become an easy prey to the enemy, and the Persians would have found an open sea on the Peloponnesian coast, where they could act with all their force against the ships of the allies.

while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole army.

Xerxes is deceived.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages, and to inclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means, he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy.[3] Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station; and, as they had a confidence in his honor, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage.

Xerxes watches the battle.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but according to Acestodorus, on the

[3] Aristides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the isle of Egina, from whence he sailed by night, with great hazard, through the Persian fleet, to carry this intelligence.

confines of Megara, upon a spot called Kerata, the horns. He was seated on a throne of gold,[4] and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the meantime, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eye upon them, and at the same times observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims,[5] while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, for by this means the Greeks might be assured not only of safety, but victory.

Themistocles sacrifices the nephews of Xerxes.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up, as the soothsayer had directed.

[4] This throne or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of the Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterward in the battle of Platea.

[5] A bright flame was always considered as a fortunate omen, whether it were a real one issuing from an altar, or a seeming one (what we call shell-fire) from the head of a living person. Virgil mentions one of the latter sort, which appeared about the head of Julus and Florus, another that was seen about the head of Servius Tullius. A sneezing on the right hand, too, was deemed a lucky omen by Greeks and Latins.

Force of the fleets.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Eschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persae,* as a matter he was well assured of:

> A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian flag obey'd: two hundred more
> And seven, o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy; for it caused them to veer in such a manner that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honor, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts

The battle.

and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the Decelean, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia [6] knew the body among others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared, as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession.[7] A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Egina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured

Apparitions seen during the battle.

[6] Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled, which Xerxes observing, cried out that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia who was the wife of Mausolas, king of Caria.

[7] Herodotus says, these voices were heard, and this vision seen, some days before the battle, while the Persian land forces were ravaging the territories of Attica. Diceus, an Athenian exile (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate), was the first that observed the thing, and carried an acount of it to Xerxes.

to be the Eacidæ,[8] to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succor.

The Persians are defeated.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valor, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.[9]

Xerxes bridges the Hellespont.

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured that his land forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and

[8] A vessel had been sent to Egina to implore the assistance of Ecus and his descendants. Ecus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Egina. He was so remarkable for his justice, that his prayers, while he lived, are said to have procured great advantages to the Greeks; and, after his death, it was believed that he was appointed one of the three judges in the infernal regions.

[9] In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, besides a great many more that were taken.

break down the bridge of ships: "For so," says he, "we may take Asia, without stirring out of Europe." Aristides did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by danger, attempting everything, and present everywhere, he will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, provide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that is the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

Advice of Aristides.

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten toward his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavored to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation.[10] How

Xerxes retreats into Asia.

[10] Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched with the rest toward Thrace, in order

prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all in the battle of Platea.

Athens and Sparta.

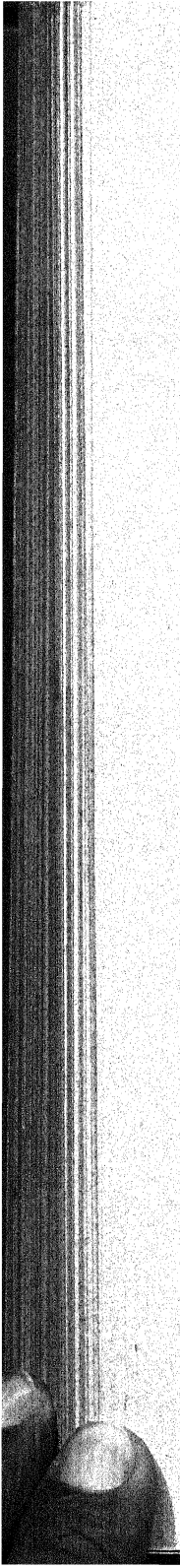
[In 479, the allied Greeks win the great battle of Platea, and on the same day they capture the camp of Mycale. Samos, Lesbos, and Chios and many Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor then join the Hellenic League, and carry on an offensive war against the Persians till 449. In 475, the leadership is transferred from Sparta to Athens, and the Hellenic Confederacy, with the temple of Apollo in Delos as a religious centre, is formed. Cimon, the admiral of the League, defeats the Persian army and fleet in the battle of Eurymedon in 465. The constantly growing power of Athens excites the jealousy of her allies and leads to war against the Spartans and Beotians (457-451). In 445, peace is concluded for thirty years between Athens and Sparta. In

Plebeians and patricians in Rome.

462, the quarrels in Rome between the plebeians and patricians culminates in a period of anarchy lasting for ten years. This is ended by the drawing up of a famous code of laws known as the Twelve Tables, and the ap-

to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared beforehand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five-and-forty days. The king, finding they were not in a condition to pursue their route so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue; but, when he arrived at the Hellespont, he found his bridge of boats broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing boat. From the Hellespont he continued his flight to Sardis.

pointment of ten patricians called the Decemviri, whose government, however, lasts only two years. Rome has gradually been gathering strength at the expense of her neighbors in wars with the southern Etruscans, Volscians, and Equi.] *The Decemviri.*



FALL OF THE DECEMVIRATE

(B.C. 449)

CHARLES MERIVALE

THE agrarian laws of the earlier tribunes had taken, it would seem, little effect; but the people acquiesced in their disappointment perhaps the more readily because the territory for division had rather diminished than increased, and in the face of the constant ravages of the enemy had for the most part become less an object of greed. On another point, however, the plebeians had a real grievance, and to this they now more directly addressed themselves. The civil law of Rome at this period was the law of the primitive race, the law of the patricians only, and the patricians alone claimed the right of expounding it. In their dealings with one another the plebeians might follow a common law or custom of their own; but as against the rival order, the real masters of the state, or, as they still asserted of themselves, the state itself, the commons, as the inferior or vassal race, had no standing in the law courts. The grand object now at last presented itself to the most

Grievances of the plebeians.

large-minded of the plebeian chiefs to effect the fusion of the Quiritary law, the primitive code of the patricians, with the equity or usage of the classes beneath, or now more truly beside them. The tribune Terentilius Harsa took the lead in this bold and politic movement. He began by proposing in the year 462 that a commission of five or ten persons should be appointed to define the power of the consuls, which was no less arbitrary in the tribunals at home than in the camp beyond the walls. The measure was of course delayed and thwarted. Foreign perils as well as internal dissension prevailed for a long time against it. Within the city this dissension broke out into open violence. In 460, the faction of the commons, under the daring lead of the Sabine, Appius Herdonius, actually seized the Capitol by night, and was dislodged not without bloodshed. Keso Quinctius, the son of Cincinnatus, distinguished himself for at least equal violence on the other side; but Virginius the tribune accused him before the people, and he only escaped the penalty of death by taking refuge in exile. It was, indeed, the large fine which the father paid for him on this occasion that reduced Cincinnatus to the poverty which was thus doubly honorable to him. But the plebeians were the gainers by this struggle. In 454, the tribune Icilius carried a measure for surrendering to the poorer commons the whole of the Aventine Hill, which was public domain, and which became from this time entirely occupied by the second order. The Aventine,

Dissensions lead to violence.

The Aventine Hill.

the loftiest, and, next to the Capitoline, reputed the strongest eminence in Rome, now constituted the citadel of the plebeians, and henceforth greatly increased their political consideration.

Dentatus, the Roman Achilles.

The plebeians boasted moreover a champion of their own to rival the prowess of a Coriolanus or a Cincinnatus. L. Sicinius Dentatus was one of a family which had led the people to the Mons Sacer, and made the most vigorous attacks on the patricians in their behalf. He was so distinguished for his personal valor as to have been designated the Roman Achilles; but, unlike the hero whom a special charm had rendered invulnerable except in his heel, he had received no less than forty-five wounds in front in the hundred and twenty battles in which he had been engaged. The rewards he had gained and the triumphs in which he had partaken were in due proportion to his merits and his sufferings. As tribune in the year 452 he gained a victory over the opponents of his party, and compelled them at last to concede the measure pressed upon them by Terentilius. To himself, indeed, this victory was fatal, for the patricians vowed to get rid of him by any means; and at no distant period Q. Fabius, who commanded the army, caused him to be despatched by a band of soldiers with whom he was sent to reconnoitre the enemy. But his popular policy did not fail to bear fruit. Three commissioners—a Postumius, a Manlius, and a Sulpicius, all patricians—were sent to study and report on the civil laws of the

Commissioners to study Greek laws.

Greeks. Whether, as the Romans of a later age imagined, they were actually deputed to visit Greece proper and Athens, the headquarters of public law in Greece, or whether their journey was really limited to the peoples of Greek descent in the south of Italy, we may accept the general truth of this curious incident, and conclude that at this period Rome did actually seek for principles of wise and liberal legislation from the superior civilization, not of the Etruscans or the Carthaginians, but of the Greeks.

The Decemvirs.

The salutary reformation thus begun rolled on apace. In the year 450 the consuls, the tribunes, the ædiles, and the questors, all the great magistrates of the city of either party, were summarily superseded by the ten commissioners, who, under the title of Decemvirs, were appointed to prepare the new code. To facilitate the movement the plebeians were content to waive the most precious of their conquests, the right of appeal from the consuls, while they acceded to the claim of the patricians, as recognized expounders of the existing law, to occupy all the places in the commission that should revise it. On March 15 that year the decemvirs entered on their office, and each of them exercised supreme authority with the lictors and its other insignia day by day in turn. The leading spirit among them was one Appius Claudius, according to some accounts the same whose boldness and haughtiness have been before noticed; but if the accounts we have followed be at all trustworthy, the elder

Appius had perished twenty years earlier, and the chief of the decemvirs was another doubtless of the same race and of kindred spirit. The fanatical pride of the Appii Claudii (the nomen and the prenomen were generally borne together) was for many hundred years a constant tradition of Roman story.

At first, indeed, these new magistrates are said to have borne their honors meekly, and to have taken measures to secure the favor of the whole body of the people to their legislation. They promulgated in the course of the year ten tables of enactments compiled on the principles of Grecian jurisprudence. During their second year of office, however, when some of the more moderate of their number had given place to successors of a fiercer spirit, the prejudices of Appius prevailed, and two more tables were set forth, which altogether failed to obtain general approbation. Then it was that these ten tyrants, as they came to be regarded, constrained the people to go forth to battle, and effected by treachery the slaughter of their hero Dentatus. But it was the personal and more domestic crime of the cruel Appius that raised the people at last in fury against them. The well-known tragedy of Virginia need only be glanced at. Daughter of the noble plebeian Virginius, she was betrothed to the not less noble Icilius. Appius, inflamed with loose passion, sought to obtain her person by setting one of his clients to claim her as his own slave. Her friends appealed to the law and to testimony; but the audacious violence of the decemvir

The Twelve Tables.

Story of Virginia.

prevailed, and Virginia was adjudged to the wicked claimant, when her father, despairing of redress, took her for a moment aside from the crowd to the booths which skirted the Forum, and laying hold of a butcher's knife struck her dead at his feet. This done, he rushed away to the camp, proclaimed the deed to the legions, and prevailed on them to break up from their outposts on the frontier, hasten back to Rome, and occupy their stronghold on the Aventine. There or on the Mons Sacer they collected a vast following of the citizens, and combining with the forces of the Sabines, defied in full revolt the tyranny of their rulers. The decemvirs made a faint show of reducing the people to obedience. But they felt that the general sentiment was against them, and speedily relinquished their power. Two of the number, however, Valerius and Horatius, repaired to the popular stronghold, and promised the restoration of the tribunate and the right of appeal. The comitia were held and tribunes elected for the plebeians, while Valerius and Horatius succeeded, as they so well deserved, to the consulship. The liberties of the people were assured by several enactments; but vengeance was still due to the blood which had been shed. Virginius accused the decemvirs. Appius killed himself in the prison to which he had been consigned. Oppius did the same. The others fled self-banished, and their property was confiscated. After this an amnesty was proclaimed. The whole nation, now firmly united, gained a decisive victory over

Suicide of the Tyrants.

the Equians and the Sabines. Nevertheless the Senate, which had hitherto exercised the sole right of according triumphs, refused the honor, and it was by a special and irregular decree of the people that the popular consuls mounted to the Capitol. Such was one of the steps by which the tribunes slowly raised their order to an equal position with their rivals.

The new laws.

The law of Terentilius, as has been said, was directed to the establishment of new principles of legislation in the interest of the plebeians. We are tempted to suppose that it was intended to place the two orders under a common law as regarded their personal and proprietary, if not as yet their political rights also. For so, undoubtedly, the Grecian states, which were to furnish the model of the new system, were already in a more advanced social state when the political pretensions of the different orders out of which they had originally sprung had become fused for the most part together. But the slender fragments that remain to us of the laws of the Twelve Tables go but a little way to justify this conception; nor do the references made to them by the Romans themselves at a later period, when they were still in living force, and might be called by Livy "the spring of all public and private law," seem to bear it out. We can see, indeed, or seem to see, that in these enactments lay the foundation of the later Roman law; and if it were the purpose of these pages to give a full antiquarian history of Roman life and manners, it would be well to take this oppor-

tunity of explaining the groundwork at least of the Jus Civile; but the connection between them and the circumstances out of which they are stated to have arisen —the rivalries, namely, of patricians and plebeians, and their conflicting claims and jealousies—seems actually so slight that it can only disappoint close scrutiny. It was no quarrel of class against class that was adjusted by the laws which specially secured to the father of a family his absolute power over his slaves, his children, his wife, and his property. The interests, indeed, of the plebeians might be somewhat more concerned with the enactments now made for the protection of the clients against the neglect of their patrons; for the clients of the patricians were gradually escaping from their patrons' authority, and throwing in their lot more and more with the plebeians. Some provisions that were now effected for the security of property, and for giving the actual possessor the fee simple after a short unopposed occupation, *may* indicate the gradual advance of the lower order in territorial proprietorship; but the protection which the law was made to afford to property generally, as compared with that which it extended to the person, applied to all classes equally. It bespeaks the character of the Roman people, who could be trusted to defend themselves, but while constantly called away to serve their country were often obliged to leave home and land undefended; but it tells us nothing of the relative position of orders and classes among them. On the whole we must conclude,

Absolute power of the father.

from a review of what little is known to us of the decemviral legislation, that it was to the personal equality of all classes in the eye of the law rather than to the equalizing of political privileges that it pointed. The poor citizen was protected by special enactment against the usurious exactions of the wealthy creditor, the feeble was defended against the strong man in the law courts, the false witness and the corrupt judge were subjected to summary punishment, appeal was given to the people in full assembly against the unjust sentence of the patrician magistrate, and, on the other hand, the people themselves were enabled, by a popular sentence, to inflict capital punishment. Doubtless the importance of the comitia of the centuries was enhanced by such an authority conceded to it; but the centuries, as we have seen, represented wealth, in the tribes it was number alone that prevailed, and a great revolutionary principle was sanctioned in the decree that whatever the comitia of the tribes should determine should have the force of law for all the citizens. Hitherto the decision of the tribes could bind the plebeians only. In the face of such a power the comitia of the curies and the centuries soon gave way altogether.

Personal equality.

[From 444 to 429, Athens prospers under the brilliant rule of Pericles. In 431, the envy of the Dorian confederacy and the ambition of Athens leads to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. During this war, Athens

Rule of Pericles.

Athens succumbs to Sparta.

suffers terribly from the ravages of plague, to which, among others, Pericles falls a victim. The war ends with the surrender of Athens in 404 and the consequent supremacy of Sparta.]

THE PLAGUE AT ATHENS

(B.C. 420)

THUCYDIDES

AS soon as summer returned, the Peloponnesian army, comprising, as before, two-thirds of the force of each confederate state, under the command of the Lacedemonian king, Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, invaded Attica, where they established themselves and ravaged the country. They had not been there many days when the plague broke out at Athens for the first time. A similar disorder is said to have previously smitten many places, particularly Lemnos, but there is no record of such a pestilence occurring elsewhere, or of so great a destruction of human life. For a while physicians, in ignorance of the nature of the disease, sought to apply remedies; but it was in vain, and they themselves were among the first victims, because they oftenest came into contact with it. No human art was of any avail, and as to supplications in temples, inquiries of oracles, and the like, they were utterly useless,

Outbreak of the plague.

and at last men were overpowered by the calamity and gave them all up.

Origin of the disease.

The disease is said to have begun south of Egypt in Ethiopia; thence it descended into Egypt and Libya, and after spreading over the greater part of the Persian empire, suddenly fell upon Athens. It first attacked the inhabitants of the Pireus, and it was supposed that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the cisterns, no conduits having as yet been made there. It afterward reached the upper city, and then the mortality became far greater. As to its probable origin, or the causes which might or could have produced such a disturbance of nature, every man, whether a physician or not, will give his own opinion. But I shall describe its actual course, and the symptoms by which any one who knows them beforehand may recognize the disorder should it ever reappear. For I was myself attacked, and witnessed the sufferings of others.

Characteristics of the disease.

The season was admitted to have been remarkably free from ordinary sickness; and if anybody was already ill of any other disease, it was absorbed in this. Many who were in perfect health, all in a moment, and without any apparent reason, were seized with violent heats in the head and with redness and inflammation of the eyes. Internally the throat and the tongue were quickly suffused with blood, and the breath became unnatural and fetid. There followed sneezing and hoarseness; in a short time the disorder, accompanied by a violent

cough, reached the chest; then fastening lower down, it would move the stomach and bring on all the vomits of bile to which physicians have ever given names; and they were very distressing. An ineffectual retching, producing violent convulsions, attacked most of the sufferers; some as soon as the previous symptoms had abated, others not until long afterward. The body, externally, was not so very hot to the touch, nor yet pale; it was of a livid color inclining to red, and breaking out in pustules and ulcers. But the internal fever was intense; the sufferers could not bear to have on them even the finest linen garment; they insisted on being naked, and there was nothing which they longed for more eagerly than to throw themselves into cold water. And many of those who had no one to look after them actually plunged into the cisterns, for they were tormented by unceasing thirst, which was not in the least assuaged whether they drank little or much. They could not sleep; a restlessness which was intolerable never left them. While the disease was at its height the body, instead of wasting away, held out amid these sufferings in a marvellous manner, and either they died on the seventh or ninth day, not of weakness, for their strength was not exhausted, but of internal fever; which was the end of most; or, if they survived, then the disease descended into the bowels and there produced violent ulceration; severe diarrhœa at the same time set in, and at a later stage caused exhaustion, which finally, with

Terrible thirst.

few exceptions, carried them off. For the disorder which had originally settled in the head passed gradually through the whole body, and if a person got over the worst, would often seize the extremities and leave its mark, attacking the privy parts and the fingers and the toes; and some escaped with the loss of these, some with the loss of their eyes. Some again had no sooner recovered than they were seized with a forgetfulness of all things and knew neither themselves nor their friends.

Birds and animals avoid the corpses.

The malady took a form not to be described, and the fury with which it fastened upon each sufferer was too much for human nature to endure. There was one circumstance in particular which distinguished it from ordinary diseases. The birds and animals which feed on human flesh, although so many bodies were lying unburied, either never came near them, or died if they touched them. This was proved by a remarkable disappearance of the birds of prey, who were not to be seen either about the bodies or anywhere else; while in the case of the dogs the fact was even more obvious, because they live with man.

Such was the general nature of the disease: I omit many strange peculiarities which characterized individual cases. None of the ordinary sicknesses attacked any one while it lasted, or, if they did, they ended in the plague. Some of the sufferers died from want of care, others equally who were receiving the greatest attention. No single remedy could be deemed a specific; for that

which did good to one did harm to another. No constitution was of itself strong enough to resist or weak enough to escape the attacks; the disease carried off all alike and defied every mode of treatment. Most appalling was the despondency which seized upon any one who felt himself sickening; for he instantly abandoned his mind to despair, and, instead of holding out, absolutely threw away his chance of life. Appalling too was the rapidity with which men caught the infection; dying like sheep if they attended on one another; and this was the principal cause of mortality. When they were afraid to visit one another, the sufferers died in their solitude, so that many houses were empty because there had been no one left to take care of the sick; or if they ventured they perished, especially those who aspired to heroism. For they went to see their friends without thought of themselves and were ashamed to leave them, even at a time when the very relations of the dying were at last growing weary and ceased to make lamentations, overwhelmed by the vastness of the calamity. But whatever instances there may have been of such devotion, more often the sick and the dying were tended by the pitying care of those who had recovered, because they knew the course of the disease and were themselves free from apprehension. For no one was ever attacked a second time, or not with a fatal result. All men congratulated them, and they themselves, in the excess of their

Rapidity with which the infection spread.

joy at the moment, had an innocent fancy that they could not die of any other sickness.

Over-crowding of the city.

The crowding of the people out of the country into the city aggravated the misery; and the newly-arrived suffered most. For, having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder. The dead lay as they had died, one upon another, while others hardly alive wallowed in the streets and crawled about every fountain craving for water. The temples in which they lodged were full of corpses of those who died in them; for the violence of the calamity was such that men, not knowing where to turn, grew reckless of all law, human and divine. The

Violation of ancient customs of burial.

customs which had hitherto been observed at funerals were universally violated, and they buried their dead each one as best he could. Many, having no proper appliances, because the deaths in their households had been so frequent, made no scruple of using the burial-place of others. When one man had raised a funeral pile, others would come, and throwing on their dead first, set fire to it; or when some other corpse was already burning, before they could be stopped would throw their own dead upon it and depart.

There were other and worse forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men who had hitherto concealed their indulgence in pleasure now grew bolder. For, seeing the sudden change—how the rich

died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property—they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves as they could and think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honor when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honor? The pleasure of the moment, and any sort of thing which conduced to it, took the place both of honor and expediency. No fear of God or law of man deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the gods made no difference. For offences against human law no punishment was to be feared; no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell why should he not take a little pleasure?

All legal and religious restraint disappears.

Such was the grievous calamity which now afflicted the Athenians: within the walls their people were dying, and without, their country was being ravaged. In their troubles they naturally called to mind a verse which the elder men among them declared to have been current long ago:—

"A Dorian war will come, and a plague with it."

There was a dispute about the precise expression; some saying that *limos,* a famine, and not *loimos,* a plague, was the word. Nevertheless, as might have been ex-

Dispute about an ancient oracle.

pected, for men's memories reflected their sufferings, the argument in favor of *loimos* prevailed at the time. But if ever in future years another Dorian war arises which happens to be accompanied by a famine, they will probably repeat the verse in the other form. The answer of the oracle to the Lacedemonians when the god was asked "whether they should go to war or not," and he replied "that if they fought with all their might, they would conquer, and that he himself would take their part," was not forgotten by those who had heard of it, and they quite imagined that they were witnessing the fulfilment of his words. The disease certainly did set in immediately after the invasion of the Peloponnesians, and did not spread into Peloponnesus in any degree worth speaking of, while Athens felt its ravages most severely, and next to Athens the places which were most populous. Such was the history of the plague.

Answer of the oracle.

SIEGE OF SYRACUSE

(B.C. 415)

E. S. CREASY

A CITY built close to the sea, like Syracuse, was impregnable, save by the combined operations of a superior hostile fleet and a superior hostile army; and Syracuse, from her size, her population, and her military and naval resources, not unnaturally thought herself secure from finding in another Greek city a foe capable of sending a sufficient armament to menace her with capture and subjection. But in the spring of B.C. 414, the Athenian navy was mistress of her harbor and the adjacent seas; an Athenian army had defeated her troops, and cooped them within the town; and from bay to bay a blockading wall was being rapidly carried across the strips of level ground and the high ridge outside the city (then termed Epipolæ), which, if completed, would have cut the Syracusans off from all succor from the interior of Sicily, and have left them at the mercy of the Athenian generals. The besiegers' works were, indeed, unfinished; but every day

Syracuse besieged.

the unfortified interval in their lines grew narrower, and with it diminished all apparent hope of safety for the beleaguered town.

Athenian aggression.

Athens was now staking the flower of her forces, and the accumulated fruits of seventy years of glory, on one bold throw for the dominion of the Western world.

At Marathon we beheld Athens struggling for self-preservation against the invading armies of the East. At Syracuse she appears as the ambitious and oppressive invader of others. In her, as in other republics of old and of modern times, the same energy that had inspired the most heroic efforts in defence of the national independence, soon learned to employ itself in daring and unscrupulous schemes of self-aggrandizement at the expense of neighboring nations. In the interval between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars she had rapidly grown into a conquering and dominant state, the chief of a thousand tributary cities, and the mistress of the largest and best-manned navy that the Mediterranean had yet beheld. The occupations of her territory by Xerxes and Mardonius, in the second Persian war, had forced her whole population to become mariners; and the glorious results of that struggle confirmed them in their zeal for their country's service at sea. The voluntary suffrage of the Greek cities of the coasts and islands of the Egean first placed Athens at the head of the confederation formed for the further prosecution of the war against Persia. But this titular ascendency was soon con-

Athenians all sailors.



THE PLAGUE AT ATHENS (*Pages* 245-252)

FROM THE PAINTING BY POUSSIN

verted by her into practical and arbitrary dominion. She protected them from piracy and the Persian power, which soon fell into decrepitude and decay, but she exacted in return implicit obedience to herself. She claimed and enforced a prerogative of taxing them at her discretion, and proudly refused to be accountable for her mode of expending their supplies. Remonstrance against her assessments was treated as factious disloyalty, and refusal to pay was promptly punished as revolt. Permitting and encouraging her subject allies to furnish all their contingents in money, instead of part consisting of ships and men, the sovereign republic gained the double object of training her own citizens by constant and well-paid service in her fleets, and of seeing her confederates lose their skill and discipline by inaction, and become more and more passive and powerless under her yoke.

Selfish oppression.

All republics that acquire supremacy over other nations rule them selfishly and oppressively. There is no exception to this in either ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Holland, and Republican France, all tyrannized over every province and subject state where they gained authority. But none of them openly avowed their system of doing so upon principle with the candor which the Athenian republicans displayed when any remonstrance was made against the severe exactions which they imposed upon their vassal allies. They avowed that their empire was a tyranny, and frankly stated that they solely trusted to

force and terror to uphold it. They appealed to what they called "the eternal law of nature, that the weak should be coerced by the strong." Sometimes they stated, and not without some truth, that the unjust hatred of Sparta against themselves forced them to be unjust to others in self-defence. To be safe, they must be powerful; and to be powerful, they must plunder and coerce their neighbors.

Strength of Athens.

Her great political dramatist speaks of the Athenian empire as comprehending a thousand states. The language of the stage must not be taken too literally; but the number of the dependencies of Athens, at the time when the Peloponnesian confederacy attacked her, was undoubtedly very great. With a few trifling exceptions, all the islands of the Egean, and all the Greek cities, which in that age fringed the coasts of Asia Minor, the Hellespont and Thrace, paid tribute to Athens, and implicitly obeyed her orders. The Egean Sea was an Attic lake. Westward of Greece, her influence, though strong, was not equally predominant. She had colonies and allies among the wealthy and populous Greek settlements in Sicily and South Italy, but she had no organized system of confederates in those regions; and her galleys brought her no tribute from the Western seas. The extension of her empire over Sicily was the favorite project of her ambitious orators and generals. When her bitterest enemies, the Corinthians, succeeded, in B.C. 431, in inducing Sparta to attack her, and a confederacy was

A hostile confederacy formed.

formed of five-sixths of the continental Greeks, all animated by anxious jealousy and bitter hatred of Athens; when armies far superior in numbers and equipment to those which had marched against the Persians were poured into the Athenian territory, and laid it waste to the city walls, the general opinion was that Athens would be reduced, in two or three years at the furthest, to submit to the requisitions of her invaders.

Athens suffers many calamities.

Athens accepted the war with which her enemies threatened her rather than descend from her pride of place; and though the awful visitation of the Plague came upon her, and swept away more of her citizens than the Dorian spear laid low, she held her own gallantly against her enemies. If the Peloponnesian armies in irresistible strength wasted every spring her cornlands, her vineyards, and her olive groves with fire and sword, she retaliated on their coasts with her fleets; which, if resisted, were only resisted to display the pre-eminent skill and bravery of her seamen. Some of her subject allies revolted, but the revolts were in general sternly and promptly quelled. The genius of one enemy had indeed inflicted blows on her power in Thrace which she was unable to remedy; but he fell in battle in the tenth year of the war, and with the loss of Brasidas the Lacedemonians seemed to have lost all energy and judgment.

The fifty years' war.

Both sides at length grew weary of the war, and in 421 a truce for fifty years was concluded, which, though ill kept, and though many of the confederates of Sparta

refused to recognize it, and hostilities still continued in many parts of Greece, protected the Athenian territory from the ravages of enemies, and enabled Athens to accumulate large sums out of the proceeds of her annual revenues. So also, as a few years passed by, the havoc which the pestilence and the sword had made in her population was repaired; and in B.C. 415 Athens was full of bold and restless spirits, who longed for some field of distant enterprise wherein they might signalize themselves and aggrandize the state, and who looked on the alarm of Spartan hostility as a mere old woman's tale.

Athens covets Sicily.

The West was now the quarter toward which the thoughts of every aspiring Athenian were directed. From the very beginning of the war Athens had kept up an interest in Sicily, and her squadron had, from time to time, appeared on its coasts and taken part in the discussions in which the Sicilian Greeks were universally engaged one against each other. There were plausible grounds for a direct quarrel, and an open attack by the Athenians upon Syracuse.

With the capture of Syracuse, all Sicily, it was hoped, would be secured. Carthage and Italy were next to be attacked. With large levies of Iberian mercenaries she then meant to overwhelm her Peloponnesian enemies. The Persian monarchy lay in hopeless imbecility, inviting Greek invasion; nor did the known world contain

the power that seemed capable of checking the growing might of Athens, if Syracuse once could be hers.

The Athenian fleet.

The armament which the Athenians equipped against Syracuse was in every way worthy of the state which formed such projects of universal empire, and it has been truly termed "the noblest that ever yet had been set forth by a free and civilized commonwealth." The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty-four war-galleys, with a multitude of store-ships. A powerful force of the best heavy-armed infantry that Athens and her allies could furnish was sent on board it, together with a smaller number of slingers and bowmen. The quality of the forces was even more remarkable than the number. The zeal of individuals vied with that of the republic in giving every galley the best possible crew, and every troop the most perfect accoutrements. And with private as well as public wealth eagerly lavished on all that could give splendor as well as efficiency to the expedition, the fatal fleet began its voyage for the Sicilian shores in the summer of 415.

The Athenian generals.

Of the three generals who led the Athenian expedition, two only were men of ability, and one was most weak and incompetent. Fortunately for Syracuse, Alcibiades, the most skilful of the three, was soon deposed from his command by a facetious and fanatic vote of his fellow-countrymen, and the other competent one, Lamachus, fell early in a skirmish; while, more fortunately still for her, the feeble and vacillating Nicias remained

unrecalled and unhurt, to assume the undivided leadership of the Athenian army and fleet, and to mar, by alternate over-caution and over-carelessness, every chance of success which the early part of the operations offered. Still, even under him, the Athenians nearly won the town. They defeated the raw levies of the Syracusans, cooped them within the walls, and, as before mentioned, almost effected a continuous fortification from bay to bay over Epipolæ, the completion of which would certainly have been followed by a capitulation.

Treason of Alcibiades.

Alcibiades, the most complete example of genius without principle that history produces, but with high military talents superadded to diplomatic oratorical powers, on being summoned home from his command in Sicily to take his trial before the Athenian tribunal, had escaped to Sparta, and had exerted himself there with all the selfish rancor of a renegade to renew the war with Athens, and to send instant assistance to Syracuse.

The renegade then proceeded to urge on them the necessity of encouraging their friends in Sicily, by showing that they themselves were in earnest in hostility to Athens. He exhorted them not only to march their armies into Attica again, but to take up a permanent fortified position in the country; but he gave them in detail information of all that the Athenians most dreaded, and how his country might receive the most distressing and enduring injury at their hands.

The Spartans resolved to act on his advice, and ap-

pointed Gylippus to the Sicilian command. His country gave him neither men nor money, but she gave him her authority; and the influence of her name and of his own talents was speedily seen in the zeal with which the Corinthians and other Peloponnesian Greeks began to equip a squadron to act under him for the rescue of Sicily. As soon as four galleys were ready, he hurried over with them. *Sparta sends Gylippus.*

The sight of actual succor, and the promise of more, revived the drooping spirits of the Syracusans. They felt that they were not left desolate to perish, and the tidings that a Spartan was coming to command them confirmed their resolution to continue their resistance. Gylippus was already near the city. He had learned at Locri that the first report which had reached him of the state of Syracuse was exaggerated, and that there was unfinished space in the besiegers' lines through which it was barely possible to introduce reinforcements into the town. Crossing the Straits of Messina, which the culpable negligence of Nicias had left unguarded, Gylippus landed on the northern coast of Sicily, and there began to collect from the Greek cities an army, of which the regular troops that he brought from Peloponnesus formed the nucleus. Such was the influence of the name of Sparta, and such were his own abilities and activity, that he succeeded in raising a force of about two thousand fully armed infantry, with a larger number of irregular troops. Nicias, as if infatuated, made no attempt to counteract his opera-

Great ability of Gylippus.

tions, nor, when Gylippus marched his little army toward Syracuse, did the Athenian commander endeavor to check him. The Syracusans marched out to meet him; and while the Athenians were solely intent on completing their fortifications on the southern side toward the harbor, Gylippus turned their position by occupying the high ground in the extreme rear of Epipolæ. He then marched through the unfortified interval of Nicias's lines into the besieged town, and joining his troops with the Syracusan forces, after some engagements with varying success, gained the mastery over Nicias, drove the Athenians from Epipolæ, and hemmed them into a disadvantageous position in the low grounds near the great harbor.

Syracuse receives foreign aid.

The attention of all Greece was now fixed on Syracuse; and every enemy of Athens felt the importance of the opportunity now offered of checking her ambition, and, perhaps, of striking a deadly blow at her power. Large reinforcements from Corinth, Thebes, and other cities now reached the Syracusans, while the baffled and dispirited Athenian general earnestly besought his countrymen to recall him, and represented the further prosecution of the siege as hopeless.

But Athens had made it a maxim never to let difficulty or disaster drive her back from any enterprise once undertaken, so long as she possessed the means of making any effort, however desperate, for its accomplishment. With indomitable pertinacity, she now decreed, in-

stead of recalling her first armament from before Syracuse, to send out a second, though her enemies near home had now renewed open warfare against her, and by occupying a permanent fortification in her territory had severely distressed her population, and were pressing her with almost all the hardships of an actual siege. She still was mistress of the sea, and she sent forth another fleet of seventy galleys, and another army, which seemed to drain almost the last reserves of her military population, to try if Syracuse could not yet be won, and the honor of the Athenian arms be preserved from the stigma of a retreat. At the head of this second expedition she wisely placed her best general, Demosthenes, one of the most distinguished officers that the long Peloponnesian war had produced.

Athens sends another fleet.

His arrival was critically timed; for Gylippus had encouraged the Syracusans to attack the Athenians under Nicias by sea as well as by land, and by one able stratagem of Ariston, one of the admirals of the Corinthian auxiliary squadron, the Syracusans and their confederates had inflicted on the fleet of Nicias the first defeat that the Athenian navy had ever sustained from a numerically inferior enemy. Gylippus was preparing to follow up his advantage by fresh attacks on the Athenians on both elements, when the arrival of Demosthenes completely changed the aspect of affairs, and restored the superiority to the invaders. He rowed round the great harbor with loud cheers and martial music, as if

Gloom in Syracuse.

in defiance of the Syracusans and their confederates. His arrival had indeed changed their newly born hopes into the deepest consternation.

With the intuitive decision of a great commander, Demosthenes at once saw that the possession of Epipolæ was the key to the possession of Syracuse, and he resolved to make a prompt and vigorous attempt to recover that position, while his force was unimpaired, and the consternation which its arrival had produced among the besieged remained unabated. The Syracusans and their allies had run out an outwork along Epipolæ from the city walls, intersecting the fortified lines of circumvallation which Nicias had commenced, but from which he had been driven by Gylippus. Could Demosthenes succeed in storming this outwork, and in re-establishing the Athenian troops on the high ground, he might fairly hope to be able to resume the circumvallation of the city, and become the conqueror of Syracuse; for when once the besiegers' lines were completed, the number of the troops with which Gylippus had garrisoned the place would only tend to exhaust the stores of provisions and accelerate its downfall.

Tactics of Demosthenes.

An easily repelled attack was first made on the outwork in the day-time, probably more with the view of blinding the besieged to the nature of the main operations than with any expectation of succeeding in an open assault, with every disadvantage of the ground to contend against. But, when the darkness had set in, Demos-

thenes formed his men in columns, each soldier taking with him five days' provisions, and the engineers and workmen of the camp following the troops with their tools, and all portable implements of fortification, so as at once to secure any advantage of ground that the army might gain. Thus equipped and prepared, he led his men along by the foot of the southern flank of Epipolæ, in the direction toward the interior of the island, till he came immediately below the narrow ridge that forms the extremity of the high ground looking westward. He then wheeled his vanguard to the right, sent them rapidly up the paths that wind along the face of the cliff, and succeeded in completely surprising the Syracusan outposts, and in placing his troops fairly on the extreme summit of the all-important Epipolæ. Thence the Athenians marched eagerly down the slope toward the town, routing some Syracusan detachments that were quartered in their way, and vigorously assailing the unprotected side of the outwork. All at first favored them. The outwork was abandoned by its garrison, and the Athenian engineers began to dismantle it. In vain Gylippus brought up fresh troops to check the assault; the Athenians broke and drove them back, and continued to press hotly forward, in the full confidence of victory. But, amid the general consternation of the Syracusans and their confederates, one body of infantry stood firm. This was a brigade of their Beotian allies, which was posted low down the slope of Epipolæ, outside the city

Early success.

The Beotian infantry stand firm.

walls. Coolly and steadily the Beotian infantry formed their line, and undismayed by the current of flight around them, advanced against the advancing Athenians. This was the crisis of the battle.

But the Athenian van was disorganized by its own previous successes; and, yielding to the unexpected charge thus made on it by troops in perfect order, and of the most obstinate courage, it was driven back in confusion upon the other divisions of the army, that still continued to press forward. When once the tide was thus turned, the Syracusans passed rapidly from the extreme of panic to the extreme of vengeful daring, and with all their forces they now fiercely assailed the embarrassed and receding Athenians. In vain did the officers of the latter strive to re-form their line.

The Athenians are defeated.

Amid the din and the shouting of the fight, and the confusion inseparable upon a night engagement, especially one where many thousand combatants were pent and whirled together in a narrow and uneven area, the necessary manœuvres were impracticable; and though many companies still fought on desperately, wherever the moonlight showed them the semblance of a foe, they fought without concert or subordination; and not unfrequently, amid the deadly chaos, Athenian troops assailed each other. Keeping their ranks close, the Syracusans and their allies pressed on against the disorganized masses of the besiegers, and at length drove them, with heavy slaughter, over the cliffs, which an hour or two

before they had scaled full of hope, and apparently certain of success.

Vengeance of the victors.

This defeat was decisive of the event of the siege. The Athenians afterward struggled only to protect themselves from the vengeance which the Syracusans sought to wreak in the complete destruction of their invaders. Never, however, was vengeance more complete and terrible. A series of sea-fights followed, in which the Athenian galleys were utterly destroyed or captured. The marines and soldiers who escaped death in disastrous engagements, and a vain attempt to force a retreat into the interior of the island, became prisoners of war; Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death in cold blood, and their men either perished miserably in Syracusan dungeons, or were sold into slavery to the very persons whom, in their pride of power, they had crossed the seas to enslave.

Ruin of Athenian power.

All danger from Athens to the independent nations of the West was now forever at an end. She, indeed, continued to struggle against her combined enemies and revolted allies with unparalleled gallantry, and many more years of varying warfare passed away before she surrendered to their arms. But no success in subsequent conquests could ever have restored her to the pre-eminence in enterprise, resources and maritime skill which she had acquired before her fatal reverses in Sicily. Nor among the rival Greek republics, whom her own rashness aided to crush her, was there any capable of reor-

None to take Athens' place.

ganizing her empire, or resuming her schemes of conquest. The dominion of Western Europe was left for Rome and Carthage to dispute two centuries later in conflicts still more terrible, and with even higher displays of military daring and genius than Athens had witnessed either in her rise, her meridian, or her fall.

EXPEDITION OF THE TEN THOUSAND

(B.C. 400)

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

IT was an undertaking of the widest import when Cyrus the Younger resolved to place himself by the aid of Grecian arms on the throne of Persia. A pretext was found in a point left unsettled by the constitutional law of that country. It was matter of dispute whether the right of succession belonged to the eldest son, or to the son born first after his father's accession to the throne. The accession of Xerxes had been decided by the fact that he was born during the reign of Darius. On similar grounds, when Darius Nothus died, Cyrus the Younger, the only son born during his father's reign, claimed the preference over his brother Artaxerxes. On this occasion, as before, the queen was for the younger brother, but could not bring her consort over to his side. Artaxerxes, surnamed Mnemon, became king; Cyrus was appointed satrap of Lydia and the regions that bordered on the sea. It was no ordinary

Cyrus determines to seize the Persian throne.

satrapy which thus fell to the lot of the king's son: he was described in his father's edict as Karanos, that is, Lord or Sovereign, a special title such as was not infrequently conferred upon satraps related to the royal house. But Cyrus was not contented with this honor. He considered himself, in virtue of his personal qualities, more capable of filling the post of king. Artaxerxes, we are told, was of a gentle nature, a lover of peace, of genial and placable disposition, a character well suited to the representative of Ormuzd. Cyrus, on the other hand, was ambitious, adventurous, and warlike, a soldier after the manner of those Greek mercenaries whom he attracted in considerable numbers to his flag.

Character of Cyrus.

Cyrus not only considered himself worthy of the throne and justified in taking possession of it, but he was resolved to attempt its conquest. With this object in view, he summoned the Lacedemonians to his aid, expressly reminding them of the service he had done them in the late war. The Ephors, while refusing to declare themselves openly to him, were satisfied of the justice of his request. They sent a fleet to Cilicia to prevent the satrap of that country, who, like other provincial governors, was naturally inclined to support the king, from opposing the march of Cyrus. They willingly granted permission to the Peloponnesian soldiery to take service with the pretender, and Clearchus, one of the best of their captains, was expressly empowered to serve under him. Thereupon a very considerable body of troops, thir-

teen thousand in number, was collected, and the army, meeting with little resistance in Asia Minor, set out on its march, in order to win the Persian crown for the ally of Lacedemon. In short, it was through the support of Cyrus that the Lacedemonians had overpowered Greece; it was through the aid of Lacedemon that Cyrus was now to become lord and master of Persia. It was indeed a matter of doubt, whether the alliance of Greek mercenaries with the pretender to the Persian throne was likely to exercise a decisive and general influence on affairs. Even had the attempt proved successful, had Artaxerxes been overthrown and Cyrus set up in his place, the Greeks would probably have played a subordinate part, like that which they performed at the side of the Hellenizing Pharaohs of Egypt. But it is nevertheless undeniable that, even under these circumstances, the aspect of the world would have undergone a change. Cyrus would have met with opposition and would have remained dependent on Grecian support. The Greeks would have retained a certain share in the dominion founded by their aid, and would have extended their influence to the furthest parts of Asia. It was a question of life and death for the Persian Empire whether it would be able to resist this attack or not.

Thirteen thousand Greeks join Cyrus.

When the armies met in the plain of Cunaxa on the banks of the Lower Euphrates, it at first appeared probable that the expedition of Cyrus would be crowned with success. His Greek allies, familiar as they were with the

Combat between Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

practice of war, and led by an experienced commander, advanced in steady array, and made a sudden and vigorous attack upon the enemy. The attack was successful. The Persian squadrons opposed to them, hastily collected, ill equipped, and devoid of military experience, were routed at first. The battle seemed to be won, and Cyrus was saluted as king; but the body of picked and disciplined troops, in whose midst was Artaxerxes himself, still held together in unshaken order. Cyrus had to engage in a personal combat with his brother. The historians are full of this duel, which not only supplied food for Oriental fancy, but reminded the Greeks of the stories of a mythical age, and especially of the combat between Eteocles and Polyneikes. The story, however, rests upon no solid foundation. All that we can be certain of is that Cyrus made a strong impression on the enemy's centre; that Tissaphernes restored order among his troops, and that in the hand-to-hand struggle which ensued Cyrus was killed.

Battle of Cunaxa.

Death of Cyrus.

The object of the expedition was a purely personal one: on the death of the pretender, it came to an end at once. The Grecian leaders fell victims to the treachery of the Persian allies of Cyrus, whose only thought was now to make peace with the Great King; but the Greek troops, led by the Athenian Xenophon, though much reduced in numbers, made good their retreat. Their march has won imperishable renown in the annals of military history, as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.

Retreat of the Greeks under Xenophon.

It is a proof of the military skill which every individual Greek had made his own, that they were able to adapt their tactics to their needs, and to repel the attacks of light-armed troops. In the face of the greatest dangers and difficulties, and through the midst of savage tribes still living in ancestral freedom, they pressed forward on their homeward way. At length, as we read in the impressive narrative of Xenophon, they beheld the sea, and saluted it with joyful shouts of "Thalatta! Thalatta!" The sea was their own, and safety was before them at last.

This march must not be regarded as a mere adventure. Rightly considered, it will be seen to have had results of far-reaching importance. The Persian satraps could not avoid calling the Lacedemonians to account for the attack on the Great King, in which they had taken part. Tissaphernes, who now came again to the front after the fall of Cyrus the Younger, renewed the war in Asia Minor. It may be open to dispute whether the renewal of hostilities between Persia and Lacedemon was one of the circumstances which enabled the Athenians to reorganize their republic in the way described above, but it is certain that it introduced a new phase in the relations of Greece and Persia.

Result of the expedition.

The expedition of the Ten Thousand had at least one remarkable result. The old idea of an invasion of Asia awoke to new life in the breasts of the Lacedemonians. Derkyllidas, at the head of an army composed of Lace-

demonians and their allies, took possession of the Troad. Hereupon the two satraps, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, came to an understanding and made proposals of peace, but, these proposals appearing dangerous to the Lacedemonians, the ill-feeling ripened into the determination to renew the ancient war. Agesilaus, the youthful King of Lacedemon, was sent over to Asia. In this expedition Homeric ideas were revived, and Agesilaus, before his departure, offered a sacrifice at Aulis, though not without experiencing opposition from the Thebans, his former allies.

Socrates is put to death.

[In 399, the philosopher Socrates, the teacher of Xenophon and Plato, is put to death for his teachings, which are held to be hurtful to the State.]

DEATH OF SOCRATES

(B.C. 399)

PLATO

I WILL begin at the beginning, and endeavor to repeat the entire conversation. You must understand that we had been previously in the habit of assembling early in the morning at the court in which the trial was held, and which is not far from the prison. There we remained talking with one another until the opening of the prison doors (for they were not opened very early), and we went in and generally passed the day with Socrates. On the last morning the meeting was earlier than usual; this was owing to our having heard on the previous evening that the sacred ship had arrived from Delos, and therefore we agreed to meet very early at the accustomed place. On our going to the prison, the jailer who answered the door, instead of admitting us, came out and bade us wait and he would call us. "For the Eleven," he said, "are now with Socrates; they are taking off his chains, and giving orders that he is to die to-day." He soon returned and said that we might

Visitors to Socrates.

come in. On entering we found Socrates just released from chains, and Xanthippe, whom you know, sitting by him, and holding his child in her arms. When she saw us she uttered a cry and said, as women will: "O Socrates, this is the last time that either you will converse with your friends, or they with you." Socrates turned to Crito and said: "Crito, let some one take her home." Some of Crito's people accordingly led her away, crying out and beating herself. And when she was gone, Socrates, sitting up on the couch, began to bend and rub his leg, saying, as he rubbed: How singular is the thing called pleasure, and how curiously related to pain, which might be thought to be the opposite of it; for they never come to a man together, and yet he who pursues either of them is generally compelled to take the other. They are two, and yet they grow together out of one head or stem; and I can not help thinking that if Esop had noticed them, he would have made a fable about God trying to reconcile their strife, and when he could not, he fastened their heads together; and this is the reason why when one comes the other follows, as I find in my own case pleasure comes following after the pain in my leg, which was caused by the chain. . . .

Views on pleasure and pain.

I do not mean to affirm that the description which I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true —a man of sense ought hardly to say that. But I do say that, inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily,

On immortality.

that something of the kind is true. The venture is a glorious one, and he ought to comfort himself with words like these, which is the reason why I lengthen out the tale. Wherefore, I say, let a man be of good cheer about his soul, who has cast away the pleasures and ornaments of the body as alien to him, and rather hurtful in their effects, and has followed after the pleasures of knowledge in this life; who has adorned the soul in her own proper jewels, which are temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth—in these arrayed she is ready to go on her journey to the world below, when her time comes. You, Simmias and Cebes, and all other men, will depart at some time or other. Me already, as the tragic poet would say, the voice of fate calls. Soon I must drink the poison; and I think that I had better repair to the bath first, in order that the women may not have the trouble of washing my body after I am dead.

On the soul.

His counsel.

When he had done speaking, Crito said: And have you any commands for us, Socrates—anything to say about your children, or any other matter in which we can serve you?

Nothing particular, he said; only, as I have told you, I would have you to look to yourselves; that is a service which you may always be doing to me and mine as well as to yourselves. And you need not make professions; for if you take no thought for yourselves, and walk not according to the precepts which I have given you, not

now for the first time, the warmth of your professions will be of no avail.

We will do our best, said Crito. But in what way would you have us bury you?

Last commands of Socrates.

In any way that you like; only you must get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you. Then he turned to us, and added with a smile: I can not make Crito believe that I am the same Socrates who have been talking and conducting the argument: he fancies that I am the other Socrates whom he will soon see, a dead body—and he asks, How shall he bury me? And though I have spoken many words in the endeavor to show that when I have drunk the poison I shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed—these words of mine with which I comforted you and myself, have had, as I perceive, no effect upon Crito. And therefore I want you to be surety for me now, as he was surety for me at the trial: but let the promise be of another sort; for he was my surety to the judges that I would remain, but you must be my surety to him that I shall not remain, but go away and depart; and then he will suffer less at my death, and not be grieved when he sees my body being burned or buried. I would not have him sorrow at my hard lot, or say at the burial, Thus we lay out Socrates, or, Thus we follow him to the grave or bury him; for false words are not only evil in themselves, but they infect the soul with evil. Be of good cheer, then, my

dear Crito, and say that you are burying my body only, and do with that as is usual, and as you think best.

When he had spoken these words, he arose and went into the bath chamber and left us thinking of the subject of discourse, and also of the greatness of our sorrow; he was like a father of whom we were being bereaved, and we were about to pass the rest of our lives as orphans. When he had taken the bath his children were brought to him (he had two young sons and an elder one); and the women of his family also came, and he talked to them and gave them a few directions in the presence of Crito; and he then dismissed them and returned to us.

He takes leave of his family.

Now the hour of sunset was near, for a good deal of time had passed while he was within. When he came out, he sat down with us again after his bath, but not much was said. Soon the jailer, who was the servant of the Eleven, entered and stood by him, saying: To you, Socrates, whom I know to be the noblest and gentlest and best of all who ever came to this place, I will not impute the angry feelings of other men, who rage and swear at me when, in obedience to the authorities, I bid them drink the poison—indeed, I am sure that you will not be angry with me; for others, as you are aware, and not I, are the guilty cause. And so fare you well, and try to bear lightly what must needs be; and know my errand. Then bursting into tears he turned away and went out.

Socrates looked at him and said: I return your good

wishes, and will do as you bid. Then, turning to us, he said, How charming the man is: since I have been in prison he has always been coming to see me, and at times he would talk to me, and was as good as could be to me, and now see how generously he sorrows for me. But we must do as he says, Crito; let the cup be brought, if the poison is prepared; if not, let the attendant prepare some.

Yet, said Crito, the sun is still upon the hilltops, and many a one has taken the draught late, and after the announcement has been made to him, he has eaten and drunk, and indulged in sensual delights; do not hasten, then, there is still time.

He does not seek delay.

Socrates said: Yes, Crito, and they of whom you speak are right in doing thus, for they think that they will gain by the delay; but I am right in not doing thus, for I do not think that I should gain anything by drinking the poison a little later; I should be sparing and saving a life which is already gone; I could only laugh at myself for this. Please, then, do as I say, and not refuse me.

Crito, when he heard this, made a sign to the servant; and the servant went in, and remained for some time, and then returned with the jailer carrying the cup of poison. Socrates said: You, my good friend, who are experienced in these matters, shall give me directions how I am to proceed. The man answered: You have only to walk about until your legs are heavy, and then

to lie down, and the poison will act. At the same time he gave the cup to Socrates, who, in the easiest and gentlest manner, without the least fear or change of color or feature, looking at the man with all his eyes, Echecrates, as his manner was, took the cup and said: What do you say about making a libation out of this cup to any god? May I, or not? The man answered: We only prepare, Socrates, just so much as we deem enough. I understand, he said: yet I may and must pray to the gods to prosper my journey from this to that other world —may this, then, which is my prayer, be granted to me. Then holding the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison. And hitherto most of us had been able to control our sorrow; but now when we saw him drinking, and saw too that he had finished the draught, we could no longer forbear, and in spite of myself my own tears were flowing fast; so that I covered my face and wept over myself, for certainly I was not weeping over him, but at the thought of my own calamity in having lost such a companion. Nor was I the first, for Crito, when he found himself unable to restrain his tears, had got up and moved away, and I followed; and at that moment, Apollodorus, who had been weeping all the time, broke out into a loud cry which made cowards of us all. Socrates alone retained his calmness: What is this strange outcry? he said. I sent away the women mainly in order that they might not offend

His calm conduct.

in this way, for I have heard that a man should die in peace. Be quiet, then, and have patience.

Action of the poison.

When we heard that, we were ashamed, and refrained our tears; and he walked about until, as he said, his legs began to fail, and then he lay on his back, according to the directings, and the man who gave him the poison now and then looked at his feet and legs; and after a while he pressed his foot hard and asked him if he could feel; and he said, no; and then his leg, and so upward and upward, and showed us that he was cold and stiff. And he felt them himself, and said: When the poison reaches the heart, that will be the end. He was beginning to grow cold about the groin, when he uncovered his face, for he had covered himself up, and said (they were his last words): Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt? The debt shall be paid, said Crito; is there anything else? There was no answer to this question; but in a minute or two a movement was heard, and the attendants uncovered him; his eyes were set, and Crito closed his eyes and mouth.

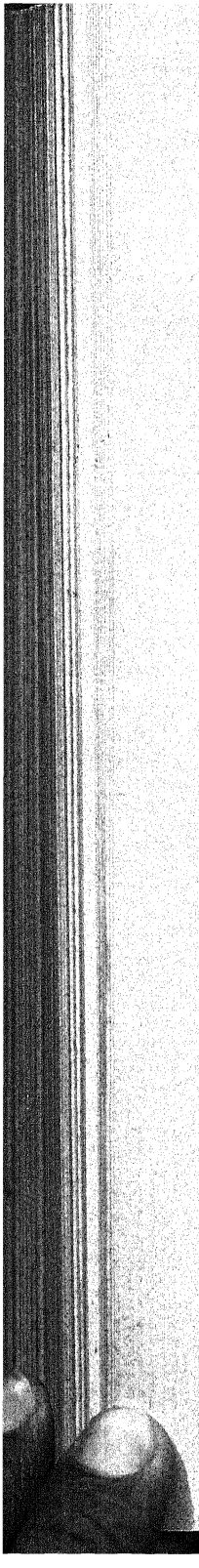
His last words.

Such was the end, Echecrates, of our friend, whom I may truly call the wisest, and justest, and best of all the men whom I have ever known.

[In 399, the attempt of the Persians to punish the Greek cities of Asia Minor for their having aided Cyrus brings the Spartans to their relief. Persian subsidies in-

duce the Corinthians to attack Sparta (395). Peace is not concluded till 387. Rome suffers great disasters in 390 by the first invasion of the Gauls, the burning of the city and the battle of the Allia. The Roman Forum, said to occupy the site of the battle with the Sabines, was originally a market place, but now became more and more the center of public life. In subsequent periods it undergoes important reconstructions.]

Rome invaded by Gauls.



THE G-AULS' FIRST ATTACK ON ROME

(B.C. 390)

LIVY

AT this time ambassadors arrived from Clusium asking aid against the Gauls. According to some, that nation was lured across the Alps to seize the country of the Etrurians by the deliciousness of its productions, especially the wine, a new luxury to them. Aruns of Clusium had introduced it into Gaul for the purpose of enticing that people so as by their help to gratify his resentment against Lucano, who had debauched his wife and was too powerful to punish without foreign aid. He acted as their guide across the Alps and advised them to besiege Clusium.

The Gauls invade Etruria.

The Clusians were terrified at the approach of this strange enemy, and determined to send ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid from the Senate, which request was not granted. The three Fabii were sent to mediate with the Gauls in the name of the Senate and Commons of Rome. The Romans asking by what right they de-

The Etruscans send to Rome for aid.

manded land from the owners and threatened war in case of refusal, and what business the Gauls had in Etruria, the latter fiercely replied that "They carried their right on the points of their swords and that all things were the property of the brave." Thus, with minds inflamed on both sides, they hastily separated to prepare for battle, which began without delay. Here, Fate now pressing the city of Rome, the ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations, took part in the action. Dropping therefore their resentment against the Clusians, the Gauls sounded a retreat, threatening vengeance on the Romans. Some advised an immediate march on Rome; but the opinion of the elders prevailed that ambassadors should first be sent to demand that the Fabii be delivered up to them as a satisfaction for this violation of the Law of Nations. When the Gallic ambassadors had explained matters, so powerful was the influence of interest and wealth that the very persons whose punishment was the subject of deliberation were appointed military tribunes for the ensuing year. At this the justly enraged Gauls, openly threatening war, returned to their countrymen.

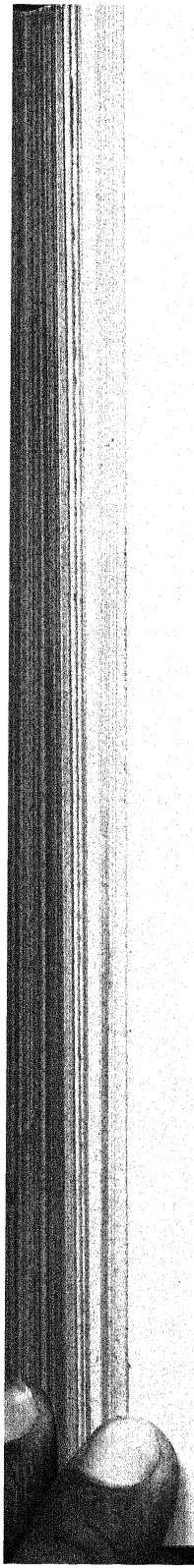
The Gauls' grievances.

When Fortune is determined on the ruin of a people, she can so blind them as to render them insensible to dangers of the greatest magnitude; accordingly the Roman state sought no assistance. Tribunes whose temerity had brought on the troubles were intrusted with the reins of government, and they used no greater diligence



THE ROMAN FORUM (*Page* 283)

FROM A MODERN RECONSTRUCTION



in raising forces than was usual in the case of a rupture with any of their neighbors. Meanwhile, the Gauls, inflamed with rage, instantly snatched up their ensigns and began the march with the utmost speed. But rumor outstripped them and caused the utmost consternation in Rome, whose army, partly a rabble, with all the haste possible scarcely reached the eleventh stone before they met the enemy at the junction of the Allia and Tiber. Already their whole front and flanks were covered by numerous bodies of Gauls, and as that nation has a natural turn for increasing terror by confusion, they filled the air with a horrid din by their harsh music and discordant yells.

They march on Rome.

There the military tribunes, without forming a camp, without taking the precaution of raising a rampart that might secure a retreat, regardless of duty to the gods, to say nothing of that to man, without taking auspices or offering a sacrifice, drew up their line. Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, turned his force against the reserve: thus not only Fortune but judgment also was on the side of the barbarians. In the other army, neither commanders nor soldiers appeared like Romans. Terror and dismay had seized them, so that far greater numbers fled to Veii, though the Tiber was in the way, than to Rome to their wives and children. Thus no lives were lost in battle; but their rear was cut to pieces in the confused retreat. There was great slaughter in the left wing on the banks of the Tiber, and many, overweighted

Rout of the Romans.

by their armor, were drowned. The right wing took the way to Rome and got into the citadel without even shutting the city gates.

Astonishment of the Gauls.

On the other hand, the attainment of such a speedy, such an almost miraculous victory, astonished the Gauls. At first they stood motionless through apprehension for their own safety, scarcely knowing what had happened; then they dreaded some stratagem; at length, they collected the spoils of the slain, and piled the arms in heaps, according to their practice. And now, seeing no signs of an enemy anywhere, they at last began to march forward, and a little before sunset arrived near the city of Rome, where, receiving intelligence by some horsemen who had advanced before, that the gates were open without any troops posted to defend them, nor any soldiers on the walls, this second incident, not less unaccountable than the former, induced them to halt; and apprehending danger from the darkness of the night, and their ignorance of the situation of the city, they took post between Rome and the Anio, sending scouts about the walls and the several gates, to discover what plans the enemy would pursue in this desperate state of their affairs. The Roman soldiers who were living, their friends lamented as lost; the greater part of them having gone from the field of battle to Veii, and no one supposing that any survived, except those who had come home to Rome. In fine, the city was almost entirely filled with sorrowings. But on the arrival of intelligence that the

Panic in Rome.

enemy were at hand, the apprehensions excited by the public danger stifled all private sorrow: soon after, the barbarians patrolling about the walls in troops, they heard their yells and the dissonant clamor of their martial instruments. During the whole interval between this and the next morning they were held in the most anxious suspense, every moment expecting an assault to be made on the city. During that night, however, and also the following day, the state preserved a character very different from that which such a dastardly flight at the Allia had indicated; for there being no room to hope that the city could possibly be defended by the small number of troops remaining, a resolution was taken that the young men who were fit to bear arms, and the abler part of the senate, with their wives and children, should go up into the citadel and the capitol; and having collected stores of arms and corn, should, in that strong post, maintain the defence of the deities, of the inhabitants, and of the honor of Rome. That the Flamen Quirinalis, and the vestal priestesses, should carry away, far from slaughter and conflagration, all that appertained to the gods of the state; and that their worship should not be intermitted until there should be no one left to perform it.

Measures for defence.

Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men, whom they escorted to the capitol and citadel, commending to their valor and youthful vigor the remaining fortune of their city, which, through the

course of three hundred and sixty years, had ever been victorious in all its wars. When those who carried with them every hope and every resource parted with the others, who had determined not to survive the capture and destruction of the city, the view which it exhibited was sufficient to call forth the liveliest feelings, the women at the same time running up and down in distraction, now following one party, then the other, asking their husbands and their sons to what fate they would consign them. All together formed such a picture of human woe as could admit of no aggravation. A great part, however, of the women followed their relations into the citadel, no one either hindering or inviting them; because, though the measure of lessening the number of useless persons in a siege might doubtless be advisable in one point of view, yet it was a measure of extreme inhumanity. The rest of the multitude, consisting chiefly of plebeians, for whom there was neither room on so small a hill, nor a possibility of support in so great a scarcity of corn, pouring out of the city in one continued train, repaired to the Janiculum. From thence some dispersed through the country, and others made their way to the neighboring cities, without any leader, or any concert, each pursuing his own hopes and his own plans, those of the public being deplored as desperate. In the meantime, the Flamen Quirinalis and the vestal virgins, laying aside all concern for their own affairs, and consulting together which of the sacred de-

Harrowing scenes.

The vestals preserve the sacred treasures.

posits they should take with them, and which they should leave behind, for they had not strength sufficient to carry all, and what place they could best depend on preserving them in safe custody, judged it the most eligible method to inclose them in casks, and bury them under ground, in the chapel next to the dwelling-house of the Flamen Quirinalis, where at present it is reckoned profane even to spit. The rest they carried, distributing the burdens among themselves, along the road which leads over the Sublician bridge to Janiculum.

Meanwhile at Rome, when every disposition for the defence of the citadel had been completed, as far as was possible in such a conjuncture, the aged crowd withdrew to their houses, and there, with a firmness of mind not to be shaken by the approach of death, waited the coming of the enemy: such of them as had held curule offices, choosing to die in that garb which displayed the emblems of their former fortune, of their honors, or of their merit, put on the most splendid robes worn, when they draw the chariots of the gods in procession, or ride in triumph. Thus habited, they seated themselves in their ivory chairs at the fronts of their houses. Some say that they devoted themselves for the safety of their country and their fellow-citizens; and that they sung a hymn on the occasion. They [the Gauls] marched next day, without any anger or any heat of passion, into the city, through the Colline gate, which stood open, and advanced to the Forum, casting around their eyes on the

Noble conduct of the curules.

The Gauls enter Rome

temples of the gods, and on the citadel, the only place which had the appearance of making resistance. From thence, leaving a small guard to prevent any attack from the citadel or capitol, they ran about in quest of plunder. Not meeting a human being in the streets, part of them rushed in a body to the houses that stood nearest; part sought the most distant, as expecting to find them untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterward, being frightened from thence by the very solitude, and fearing lest some secret design of the enemy might be put in execution against them while they were thus dispersed, they formed themselves into bodies, and returned again to the Forum, and places adjoining it. Finding the houses of the plebeians shut up, and the palaces of the nobles standing open, they showed rather great backwardness to attack those that were open than such as were shut: with such a degree of veneration did they behold men sitting in the porches of those palaces, who, beside their ornaments and apparel, more splendid than became mortals, bore the nearest resemblance to gods in the majesty displayed in their looks and the gravity of their countenances. It is said that while they stood gazing on them as statues, one of them, Marcus Papirius, provoked the anger of a Gaul by striking him on the head with his ivory sceptre, while he was stroking his beard, which at that time was universally worn long; that the slaughter began with him and that the rest were slain in their seats. After the nobles were put to death,

How the slaughter began.

no living creature was spared. The houses were plundered and, as soon as they were emptied, set on fire. *Sack of the city.*

The Romans, beholding, from the citadel, the city filled with the enemy, who ran up and down through every street, some new scene of horror arising to their view in every different quarter, were neither able to preserve their presence of mind, or even to retain the command of their eyes and ears.

On the other side, the Gauls, having for several days only waged an ineffectual war against the buildings, when they perceived that among the fires and ruins of the city nothing now remained but a band of armed enemies, who were neither terrified in the least by so many disasters, nor likely to condescend to treat of a capitulation, unless force were applied, resolved to have recourse to extremities and make an assault on the citadel. On a signal given, at the first light, their whole multitude was marshalled in the Forum, from whence, after raising the shout and forming a testudo, they advanced to the attack. The Romans, in their defence, did nothing rashly, nor in a hurry; but having strengthened the guards at every approach, and opposing the main strength of their men on the quarter where they saw the battalions advancing, they suffered the enemy to mount the hill, judging that the higher they should ascend, the more easily they might be driven back down the steep. About the middle of the ascent they met them; and their making their charge down the declivity, which *The citadel is attacked.*

of itself bore them against the enemy, routed the Gauls with such slaughter and such destruction, occasioned by their falling down the precipice, that they never afterward, either in parties or with their whole force, made another trial of that kind of fight.

Meanwhile, those at Veii found not only their courage but their strength also increasing daily. And as not only such of the Romans repaired thither who in consequence either of the defeat in the field or of the disaster of the city being taken, had been dispersed in various parts, but volunteers also flowed in from Latium, with a view to share in the spoil, it now seemed high time to attempt the recovery of their native city and rescue it out of the hands of the enemy. But this strong body wanted a head: the spot where they stood reminded them of Camillus, a great number of the soldiers having fought with success under his banners and auspices. Besides, Cedicius declared that he would not take any part which might afford occasion to any, either god or man, to take away his command from him; but rather, mindful of his own rank, would himself insist on the appointment of a general. With unanimous consent it was resolved that Camillus should be invited from Ardea; but that first the Senate, at Rome, should be consulted.

Conditions at Veii.

Thus they were employed at Veii, while, in the meantime, the citadel and Capitol at Rome were in the utmost danger. For the Gauls, having either perceived the track of a human foot, where the messenger from Veii had

passed; or, from their own observation, remarked the easy ascent at the rock of Carmentis on a moonlight night, having first sent forward a person unarmed to make trial of the way, handing their arms to those before them; when any difficulty occurred supporting and supported in turns, and drawing each other up according as the ground required, they climbed to the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of the guards, but did not even alarm the dogs, animals particularly watchful with regard to any noise at night. They were not unperceived, however, by some geese, which, being sacred to Juno, the people spared even in the present great scarcity of food. For, by the cackling of these creatures and the clapping of their wings, Marcus Manlius was roused from sleep, a man of distinguished character in war, who had been consul the third year before, and, snatching up his arms, and at the same time calling the rest to arms, he hastened to the spot. Where, while the rest ran about in confusion, he, by a stroke with the boss of his sword, tumbled down a Gaul who had already got footing on the summit; and this man's weight, as he fell, throwing down those who were next, he slew several others who, in their consternation, threw away their arms and caught hold with their hands of the rocks, to which they clung. By this time others had assembled at the place, who, by throwing javelins and stones, beat down the enemy so that the

The sacred geese save the citadel.

The Gauls are repulsed.

whole band, unable to keep their footing, were hurled down the precipice in ruin.

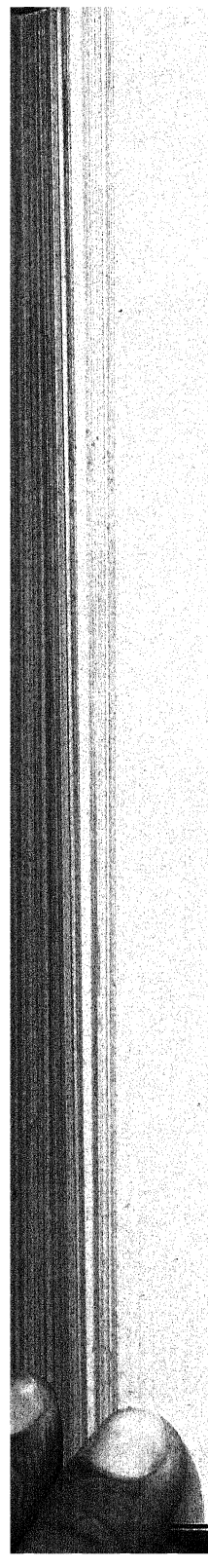
Inroads of the Gauls.

[The repeated inroads of the Gauls result in four more wars, until they are finally defeated by Camillus in 349. Between 362 and 351, Rome is also engaged in wars with the Hernici and revolted Latin cities as well as with Etruscan cities, which end in the establishment of Roman supremacy throughout southern Etruria. The Romans also break the power of the Volscii and the Aurunci (350-345). The growing power of Rome results in wars with the Samnites and cities of Magna Greca. The first Samnite War (343-341), the great Latin War (340-338), the second and third Samnite Wars (326-304 and 298-290), the war with Tarentum (282-272), end in the subjugation of all Italy up to the Rubicon and Marca. The assistance given by Pyrrhus to the Samnites, though at first successful, is ended by the great battle of Beneventum (275). In 379, war breaks out between Thebes and Sparta. At the battle of Leuctra (371) the strife ends in the triumph of the Thebans, who therefore are supreme in Greece for the next nine years. They invade the Peloponnesus four times, and finally defeat the Spartans and their allies at the battle of Mantinea in 362. From 359 to 336, Macedonia gradually assumes power and importance under Philip. Athens has regained some of her old power since 378, but the Social War breaks out in 357 and she speedily loses it. The

Macedonia becomes important.

Holy War against the Phocians, who have incurred the hostility of the Amphictyonic Council by their sacrilegious acts, lasts from 355 to 346. Philip is elected head of the Council. The national party at Athens, where Demosthenes is in power, forms a league of the Greek States against Philip. The third Holy War (339-338) ends with the defeat of the Thebans and Athenians at Cheronea.]

League of Greek States.



END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: BATTLE OF CHERONEA

(B.C. 338)

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

PHILIP and Athens were now engaged for the second time in open conflict. Philip's first step was an attack upon the fortified town of Perinthus. This town, built in terraces along the coast, contained an industrious and courageous population. Philip had already succeeded in carrying the outer walls, and the fall of the inner town was expected, when some Athenian mercenaries made their appearance. It was Persian gold which paid these troops, for the Persians were as anxious as the Athenians not to let the Macedonian monarchy gain control over the straits, whose possession was of such world-wide importance. In those regions, where different nationalities have, in all periods of the world's history, come into collision, since no state will allow another to possess them, a very unexpected, but at the same time natural, union of Greek and Persian

Persia aids Athens.

interests took place. The result was that Philip had to raise the siege of Perinthus (B.C. 340-339).

Philip fails at Byzantium.

The scene of action now shifted to Byzantium. Here the Athenians were able to bring their whole power to bear against the king. Chares drove the Macedonian fleet out of the Golden Horn. Phocion, who owed his refuge in Byzantium to the fame of his virtue, defended the fortifications on the land side. Here, too, Philip had to retreat. But his combinations had never been on a wider or more magnificent scale. By an expedition against the Scythians he hoped to get possession of the mouths of the Danube. He would then have become master of the Black Sea, after which the Greek colonies in that quarter would have been unable long to maintain their independence. But in these lands there still existed free people, whose movements were not to be foreseen or calculated, and the expedition against the Scythians failed to attain its aim. It was not altogether unsuccessful, for the king returned richly laden with booty, but on his way back he was attacked by the Triballi, who inflicted on him such serious loss that he had to relinquish the idea of making further conquests in the Thracian Chersonese. The Athenians, who were hardly aware that they had allies in the Triballi, maintained, in conjunction with the Persians, their maritime supremacy. Once more the Athenian navy proved itself a match for the Macedonian king, and the general position of affairs would have allowed this balance of power to exist for a time if the

old feud about the shrine of Delphi had not been revived.

The cause of this was, politically speaking, insignificant. It was a quarrel on a point of honor, such as when Pericles and Sparta were rivals for the Promanteia. This time the rivalry was between Thebes and Athens. The Athenians had restored a votive offering in Delphi, the inscription on which commemorated the victories they had won alike over the Persians and the Thebans. The Thebans felt this insult the more keenly because their relations had, since that time, undergone a complete transformation. At the next meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, at which envoys from Athens again took part, the Hieromnemon of Amphissa, the chief town of the Ozolian Locrians, brought the matter forward. It will be remembered that the Locrians were especial enemies of the Phocians, and the most zealous supporters of the Delphian god. In the course of his speech the Hieromnemon gave utterance to sentiments offensive to the Athenians, whom he could not forgive for their alliance with the Phocians. He went so far as to say that their presence could not be tolerated in the holy place. One of the envoys of Athens was the orator Eschines, who was not himself Hieronmnemon, but acted as his deputy. Far from seeking to excuse the Athenians, he turned the tables on the people of Amphissa by charging them with seizing the property of the Delphian god, namely, the harbor of Cirrha, which was visible from

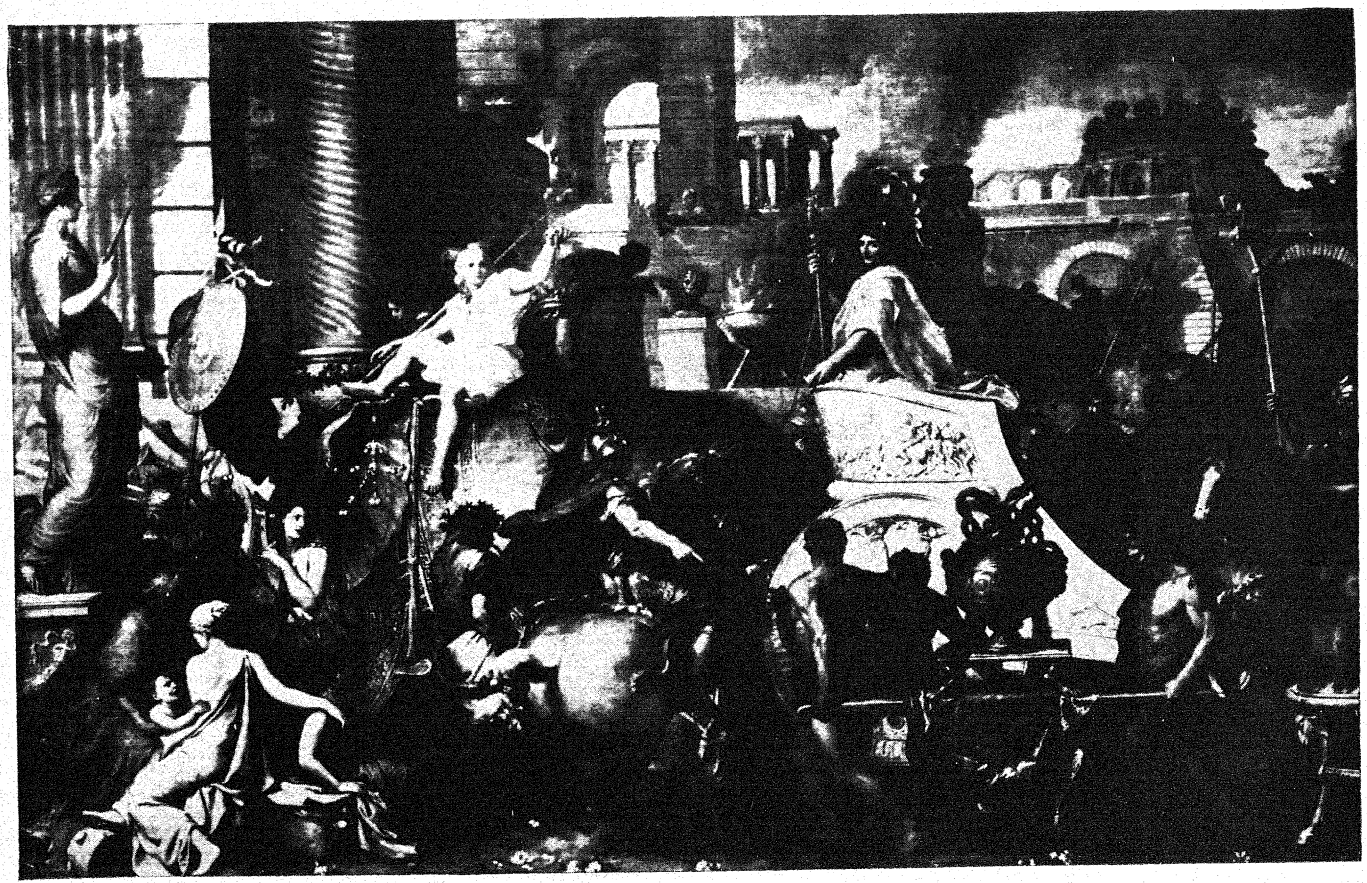
Rivalry between Thebes and Athens.

The Athenians are offended.

the place of meeting. After the victories of Philip, public opinion had turned strongly in favor of protecting the possessions of the temple. Eschines succeeded in persuading the Amphictyons to undertake the expulsion of the Locrians from their new possession. They were naturally resisted, and the resistance they met with was stigmatized as sacrilege. It was resolved to hold a special sitting of the Amphictyonic Council, in order to deal with the question.

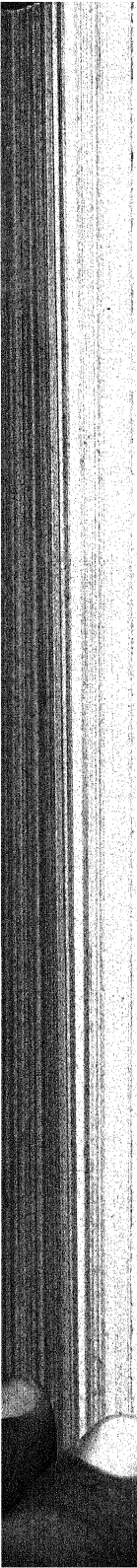
Alarm of Demosthenes.

Demosthenes was alarmed when he heard of this challenge. To wage war on behalf of the Amphictyons and the shrine of Delphi was totally at variance with the established policy of Athens, which had hitherto countenanced encroachments on the shrine. Was Athens now to take part in a war in favor of the Amphictyony—that is, in favor of King Philip, who was at the head of the league? Such was the counsel of Eschines, in whose eye the piety and justice of the war overbalanced other considerations. He hoped to make use of this opportunity in order, with the consent of Philip, to wrest Oropus, long subject of dispute, from the Thebans. Demosthenes set himself against this plan with all the force of his political convictions. Here we may remark the radical distinction between the two orators. The one was attracted by a momentary advantage, the other kept the general state of affairs consistently in view. At the same time we are struck by the incapacity of a democratic assembly for the conduct of affairs when great political



ENTRY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO BABYLON (*Page* 330)

FROM THE PAINTING BY LEBRUN



interests are concerned. Such an assembly is a slave to the impulse of the moment, and to the impressions of the tribune. Further than this, the personal rivalry of the two orators made itself felt in decisions of the greatest moment. At first Eschines succeeded in passing a resolution to declare war against Amphissa. Thereupon Demosthenes passed another resolution directly at variance with the first, against taking sides with the Amphictyons, or even sending envoys to the contemplated meeting. Here was a change of front indeed! In the first vote were involved peace and friendship with Philip; the second vote meant nothing short of hostilities against him. The people of Amphissa, at first rejected, were immediately afterward taken into favor. Thus encouraged they showed a bolder front to the Amphictyons.

His apparent inconsistency.

Here we are compelled to ask whether the great master of eloquence did not lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency. How was it that he counselled resistance to the Amphictyons and therefore at the same time to King Philip, a proceeding which he had always denounced as in the highest degree dangerous? He defended this policy on the ground that Athens was already at open war with Philip, and that she could not possibly be allied, in a question of internal politics, with a prince against whom she was fighting elsewhere. For Philip, however, no step could have been more advantageous. Too weak at sea to resist Athens on that ele-

ment, he was now provided with occasion and pretext for bringing his overpowering land force into the field against her. At the invitation of the Thessalians, he led his army into Thessaly. The Amphictyons appointed him Strategus, with independent and irresponsible authority—for that is the meaning of the word "autocrator," which was added to the title of Strategus.

Thebes deserts Philip.

Thus provided with legal authority he appeared in the winter of 339-338 in Hellas. Neither the Locrians, though aided by an Athenian contingent, nor the people of Amphissa, were able to resist him. It was probably owing to a false report, spread by himself, that he was allowed a free passage through Thermopylæ. He then occupied Elateia, which secured his retreat to Macedonia. These advances produced yet another revolution in panhellenic affairs. Thebes, after having promoted the Amphictyonic war against Phocis, and after assisting Philip in his other movements, now deserted his side. No Theban envoys appeared at an extraordinary assembly of the Amphictyons, which met at Pylæ. We may infer that the Thebans were anxious lest Philip, after overpowering Athens, should turn his arms against themselves; and undoubtedly their anxiety was well founded. Thebes had, on a previous occasion, actively contributed to the overthrow of the Lacedemonian power and the rule of the Thirty Tyrants in Attica. This had revived the power of Athens, which in return aided Thebes in the recovery of its independence. It was not likely that

the Thebans would stand by and see Athens crushed by Philip. The offence which they had taken at the votive shield was soon forgotten, but, unfortunately, there was another very intelligible ground of jealousy between the two cities. This was the seaport of Oropus, then in the hands of the Thebans, a port much coveted by Athens on account of its convenience for the trade with Eubea. Eschines had hoped that Athens, by the aid of Philip, would be able to take permanent possession of this town. Here he was opposed by Demosthenes. If King Philip was ever again to be successfully resisted, it could only be done by the restoration of a good understanding between Athens and Thebes. Thus, and thus only, could a power be formed capable of taking up the cudgels with Philip. The idea of this alliance was in the mind of Demosthenes day and night.

Oropus a ground for jealousy.

That the alliance came about is to be regarded as the greatest service which Demosthenes rendered at this crisis. He succeeded in persuading the Athenians—and it could have been no easy matter to persuade them—to give up the claim upon Oropus, which they had hitherto strenuously maintained. The victory which Demosthenes won in Athens was a victory of national interests over a separatist policy. Immediately afterward he went in person to Thebes. By recognizing the headship of Thebes in Beotia, in spite of all Philip's commands and threats, he succeeded in consummating the alliance of the two cities, on the success of which the

The alliance.

very existence of the Greek community depended. All Greece was thereupon traversed by embassies from either party. Philip persuaded the Messenians, the Arcadians, and the people of Elis to take no part in the war. From the Spartans he had nothing to fear, for at this moment they were occupied with an expedition to Italy, in order to support Tarentum against the Lucanians. But there were a few states who clung fast to the idea of a panhellenic bond. Athens and Thebes found allies in the Eubeans and the Acheans, in the inhabitants of Corinth and Megara, as well as in the distant Leucadians and Corcyreans.

In Athens, as well as in Beotia, there were many who would have preferred peace, but the orator had united the two capitals with too strong a chain. When the Athenians appeared before Thebes they were received, contrary to the habit of previous centuries, with a hearty welcome. The combined armies took the field together. The first skirmishes that took place turned out well for the allied cities, and a golden crown was voted in Athens to Demosthenes. But secular enthusiasm was premature in thinking that success was attained. In the very first movements of the war the superior generalship of Philip was displayed. He drove the Thebans from their position of vantage by attacking Beotia in their rear. The Thebans, impelled by their territorial sympathies, despatched a portion of their forces in that direction, and

Philip's superior generalship.

Philip was thus enabled to occupy the plain of Cheronea, a position very favorable for deploying his cavalry.

It was on this field that the two hosts met for the decisive conflict. Philip commanded an army fully equipped and accustomed to combined action, and he commanded it with unequalled skill. He had turned to his own use the experiences of Theban and Athenian commanders during several decades. Neither Thebes nor Athens had any commander of note to set against him. Phocion, the only man in Athens who understood the art of war, kept himself purposely out of the way. The organization of the allied forces was that which had become traditional. The different contingents were arranged according to the localities which supplied them, just as had been the case in the Persian wars. The army was what it always had been, a citizen militia from the different towns and states. Their individual discipline was excellent, but collectively they had no organization. The Athenians had granted a certain pre-eminence to the Theban Theagenes, but they had not conferred upon him the powers of a general. On this decisive day the Greek community had no commander-in-chief.

The allies without a commander-in-chief.

The Thebans, whose forces were most numerous, had to withstand the severest attack. They were, at this moment, the most hated and most dangerous enemies of Philip; most hated because they had deserted his league; most dangerous because in their contingent were concentrated the remains of the old Theban army, founded

Battle of Cheronea.

by Epaminondas, and therefore the most famous military force of Greece. Against them Philip sent the bulk of his forces, under the command of his son Alexander. He himself, with a body of his choicest and most experienced troops, faced the Athenians. While restricting himself to holding the Athenians in check, he allowed the main battle to take place between the bulk of the forces and the Thebans. The latter defended themselves with the greatest bravery. Their leader, Theagenes, was not unworthy of his predecessors. The nucleus of the Theban resistance was the Sacred Band, whose members were bound by mutual oaths never to desert each other. This force, without doubt the best that was in the field, was now overpowered by the superiority of Macedonian generalship. The victory has been ascribed to the youthful Alexander, but it must really have been due to the experienced captains by whom he was assisted in the command.

The Sacred Band.

Defeat of the Athenians.

The Theban line was eventually broken—Alexander is said to have ridden it down with his cavalry—and Philip now advanced against the Athenians with the force which he had hitherto held in reserve. At the first onset they are said to have fancied that they were about to chase the king from the field. But Philip remarked: "The Athenians know not how to win a victory"—a remark which must have meant that otherwise they would not have pursued him so far on his pretended retreat. Now that the battle had gone against the Thebans,

and the troops which had been victorious in that quarter pressed forward against the allies, who were drawn up with the Athenians and were under Athenian command, Philip turned his forces against the Athenians themselves. The latter, seeing that all was over, made no further resistance, and suffered a complete defeat. Of native Athenians more than one thousand were slain; two thousand were taken prisoners, and the rest fled in complete panic. Among the latter was Demosthenes. His place was not on the field of battle, but in the tribune. Philip is said to have ironically repeated the beginning of a vote against himself, which happened to run in the iambic metre, and in which "Demosthenes the son of Demosthenes of the Peonian deme," is mentioned as the proposer. The orator was defeated by the Strategus, and democratic enthusiasm by military experience. The speaker who roused that enthusiasm gave way to the king who knew the use of military science. The power of the tribune was thrust into the background by a political force which recognized no authority but that of arms.

Flight of Demosthenes.

The Athenians were afraid that Philip would now press forward against their city. But this could hardly have been his intention, especially after the failure of the sieges which he had lately attempted. It was on pitched battles that his superiority depended. Moreover, he was satisfied with the commanding position which his victory had obtained for him. One of its first results, and

Results of the defeat.

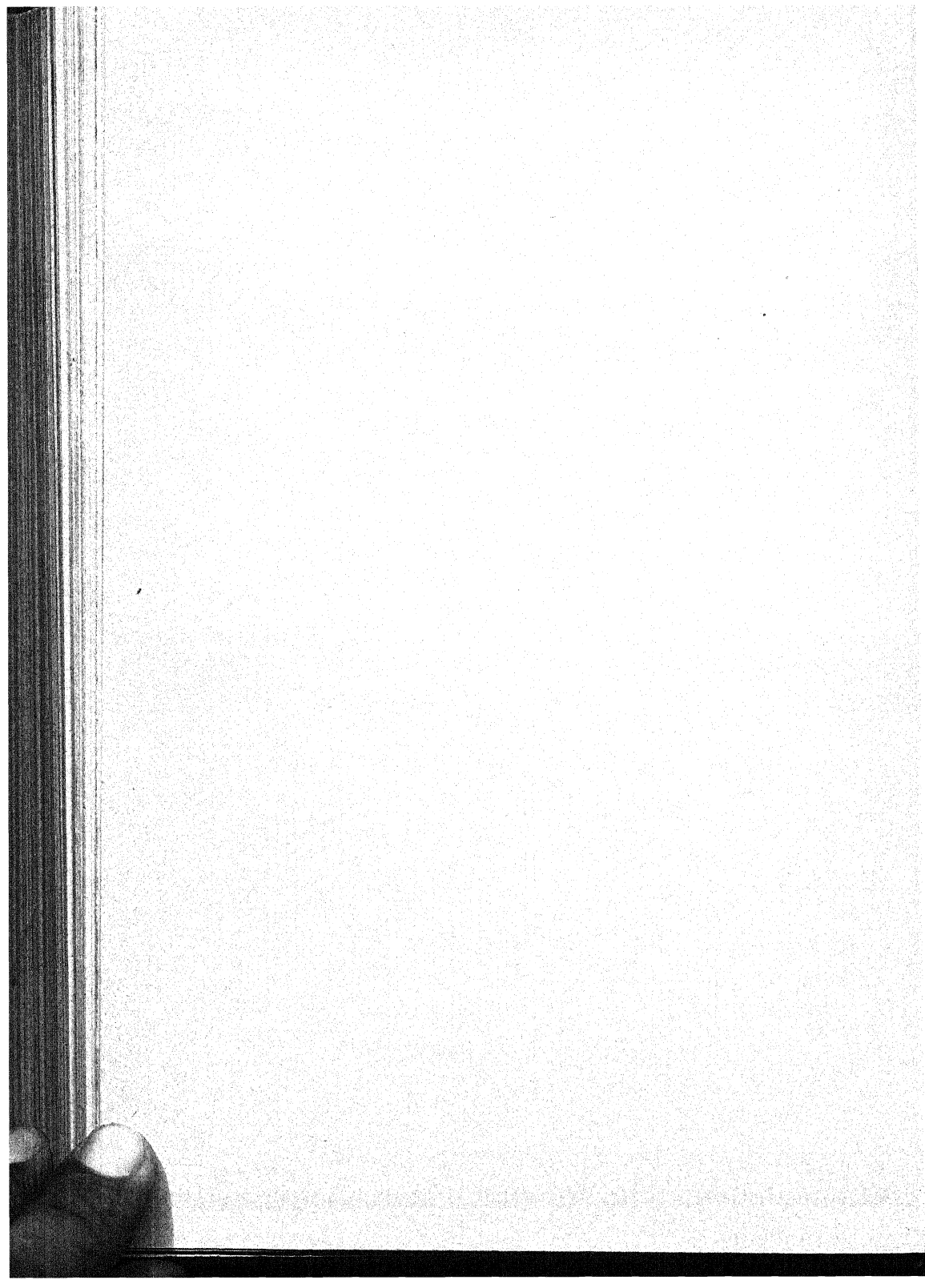
the most important of all, was that the party favorable to him in Athens now again took the lead. He was wise enough to conciliate resentment by proofs of favor, and the terms of peace which he offered were such as Athens could have felt no inducement to reject. As to the details we are ill informed. The king gave Oropus back to Athens, but there can be no doubt that she had to cede the Thracian Chersonese with some of her subject islands, as well as the command of the sea.

In Greece itself no one ventured to make further resistance to the king. In Eubea, in the first place, his friends took the lead in every city. Chalcis was chastised for its alliance with Athens. Thebes was secured by a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia. The autonomy of the Beotian cities was restored, not, however, in the Athenian interest, but in that of the king. His first care was henceforward not only to maintain this condition of things, but to anticipate every new movement which might disturb it.

Death of Philip.

[Philip is murdered in 336 and is succeeded by his son Alexander, who immediately sets about carrying out his father's plans for the invasion of Persia. He quells a revolt of Athens and Thebes, destroying the latter and selling the Thebans into slavery. In 331, an uprising by the Spartans is also quelled on the sanguinary field of Megalopolis. In 334, Alexander crosses the Hellespont and defeats the generals of Darius in the battle of the

Granicus. The next year he repeats his success at the battle of Issus in Cilicia. After conquering Syria, Phenicia, Palestine and Egypt, where he founds Alexandria, he advances through Mesopotamia in 331, and wins the battle of Arbela near Nineveh.] *Alexander's conquests.*



THE BATTLE OF ARBELA

(B.C. 331)

E. S. CREASY

THE enduring importance of Alexander's conquests is to be estimated not by the duration of his own life and empire, or even by the duration of the kingdoms which his generals after his death formed out of the fragments of that mighty dominion. In every region of the world that he traversed, Alexander planted Greek settlements and founded cities, in the populations of which the Greek element at once asserted its predominance. Among his successors, the Selucidæ and Ptolemies imitated their great captain in blending schemes of civilization, of commercial intercourse, and of literary and scientific research with all their enterprises of military aggrandizement and with all their systems of civil administration. Such was the ascendency of the Greek genius, so wonderfully comprehensive and assimilating was the cultivation which it introduced, that, within thirty years after Alexander crossed the Hellespont, the Greek language was spoken in every

Greek genius.

The intellectual influence of ancient Greece.

country from the shores of the Ægean to the Indus, and also throughout Egypt—not, indeed, wholly to the extirpation of the native dialects, but it became the language of every court, of all literature, of every judicial and political function, and formed a medium of communication among the many myriads of mankind inhabiting these large portions of the Old World. Throughout Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, the Hellenic character that was thus imparted remained in full vigor down to the time of the Mohammedan conquests. The infinite value of this to humanity in the highest and holiest point of view has often been pointed out, and the workings of the finger of Providence have been gratefully recognized by those who have observed how the early growth and progress of Christianity were aided by that diffusion of the Greek language and civilization throughout Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, which had been caused by the Macedonian conquest of the East.

In Upper Asia, beyond the Euphrates, the direct and material influence of Greek ascendency was more short-lived. Yet, during the existence of the Hellenic kingdoms in these regions, especially of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the modern Bokhara, very important effects were produced on the intellectual tendencies and tastes of the inhabitants of those countries, and of the adjacent ones, by the animating contact of the Grecian spirit. Much of Hindu science and philosophy, much of the literature of the later Persian kingdom of the Arsacidæ,

either originated from, or was largely modified by, Grecian influences. So, also, the learning and science of the Arabians were in a far less degree the result of original invention and genius than the reproduction, in an altered form, of the Greek philosophy and the Greek lore, acquired by the Saracenic conquerors, together with their acquisition of the provinces which Alexander had subjugated nearly a thousand years before the armed disciples of Mohammed commenced their career in the East. It is well known that Western Europe in the Middle Ages drew its philosophy, its arts, and its science principally from Arabian teachers. And thus we see how the intellectual influence of ancient Greece poured on the Eastern world by Alexander's victories, and then brought back to bear on Medieval Europe by the spread of the Saracenic powers, has exerted its action on the elements of modern civilization by this powerful though indirect channel, as well as by the more obvious effects of the remnants of classic civilization which survived in Italy, Gaul, Britain, and Spain, after the irruption of the Germanic nations.

Effect of Alexander's victory.

Alexander's victory at Arbela not only overthrew an Oriental dynasty, but established European rulers in its stead. It broke the monotony of the Eastern world by the impression of Western energy and superior civilization.

Arbela, the city which has furnished its name to the decisive battle which gave Asia to Alexander, lies more

The battle-ground.

than twenty miles from the actual scene of conflict. The little village, then named Gaugamela, is close to the spot where the armies met, but has ceded the honor of naming the battle to its more euphonious neighbor. Gaugamela is situate in one of the wide plains that lie between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan. A few undulating hillocks diversify the surface of this sandy track; but the ground is generally level and admirably qualified for the evolutions of cavalry, and also calculated to give the larger of two armies the full advantage of numerical superiority. The Persian king (who, before he came to the throne, had proved his personal valor as a soldier and his skill as a general) had wisely selected this region for the third and decisive encounter between his forces and the invader. The previous defeats of his troops, however severe they had been, were not looked on as irreparable. The Granicus had been fought by his generals rashly and without mutual concert; and, though Darius himself had commanded and been beaten at Issus, that defeat might be attributed to the disadvantageous nature of the ground, where, cooped up between the mountains, the river, and the sea, the numbers of the Persians confused and clogged alike the general's skill and the soldier's prowess, and their very strength had been made their weakness. Here, on the broad plains of Kurdistan, there was scope for Asia's largest host to array its lines, to wheel, to skirmish, to condense or expand its squadrons, to manœuvre, and to

charge at will. Should Alexander and his scanty band dare to plunge into that living sea of war, their destruction seemed inevitable.

The critical nature of the contest.

Darius felt, however, the critical nature to himself as well as to his adversary of the coming encounter. He could not hope to retrieve the consequences of a third overthrow. The great cities of Mesopotamia and Upper Asia, the central provinces of the Persian empire, were certain to be at the mercy of the victor. Darius knew also the Asiatic character well enough to be aware how it yields to the prestige of success and the apparent career of destiny. He felt that the diadem was now to be either firmly replaced on his own brow, or to be irrevocably transferred to the head of his European conqueror. He, therefore, during the long interval left him after the battle of Issus, while Alexander was subjugating Syria and Egypt, assiduously busied himself in selecting the best troops which his vast empire supplied, and in training his varied forces to act together with some uniformity of discipline and system.

The army of Darius.

Besides these picked troops, contingents also came in from the numerous other provinces that yet obeyed the Great King. Altogether, the horse are said to have been forty thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots two hundred, and the armed elephants fifteen in number. The amount of the infantry is uncertain; but the knowledge which both ancient and modern times supply of the usual character of Oriental armies, and of their populations of

camp-followers, may warrant us in believing that many myriads were prepared to fight, or to encumber those who fought, for the last Darius.

His great antagonist came on across the Euphrates against him, at the head of an army which Arrian, copying from the journals of Macedonian officers, states to have consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Army of Alexander.

The army which Alexander now led was wholly composed of veteran troops in the highest possible state of equipment and discipline, enthusiastically devoted to their leader, and full of confidence in his military genius and his victorious destiny.

The celebrated Macedonian phalanx formed the main strength of his infantry. This force had been raised and organized by his father Philip, who, on his accession to the Macedonian throne, needed a numerous and quickly-formed army, and who, by lengthening the spear of the ordinary Greek phalanx, and increasing the depths of the files, brought the tactic of armed masses to the highest extent of which it was capable with such materials as he possessed. He formed his men sixteen deep, and

Weapons of the Macedonians.

placed in their grasp the *sarissa,* as the Macedonian pike was called, which was four-and-twenty feet in length, and when couched for action, reached eighteen feet in front of the soldier; so that, as a space of about two feet was allowed between the ranks, the spears of the five files behind him projected in front of each front-rank



THE ROMANS CELEBRATING A VICTORY (*Page* 332)

FROM THE PAINTING BY VERNET

man. The phalangite soldier was fully equipped in the defensive armor of the regular Greek infantry. And thus the phalanx presented a ponderous and bristling mass, which, as long as its order was kept compact, was sure to bear down all opposition.

Besides the phalanx, Alexander had a considerable force of infantry who were called shield-bearers: they were not so heavily armed as the phalangites, or as was the case with the Greek regular infantry in general, but they were equipped for close fight as well as for skirmishing, and were far superior to the ordinary irregular troops of Greek warfare. They were about six thousand strong. Besides these, he had several bodies of Greek regular infantry; and he had archers, slingers, and javelin-men, who fought also with broadsword and target, and who were principally supplied by the highlanders of Illyria and Thracia. The main strength of his cavalry consisted in two chosen regiments of cuirassiers, one Macedonian and one Thessalian, each of which was about fifteen hundred strong.

Alexander crosses the Euphrates.

A little before the end of August, Alexander crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, a small corps of Persian cavalry under Mazeus retiring before him. Alexander was too prudent to march down through the Mesopotamian deserts, and continued to advance eastward with the intention of passing the Tigris, and then, if he were unable to find Darius and bring him to action, of marching southward on the left side of that river along the

skirts of a mountainous district where his men would suffer less from heat and thirst, and where provisions would be more abundant.

Darius, finding that his adversary was not to be enticed into the march through Mesopotamia against his capital, determined to remain on the battle-ground, which he had chosen on the left of the Tigris; where, if his enemy met a defeat or a check, the destruction of the invaders would be certain with two such rivers as the Euphrates and the Tigris in their rear. The Persian king availed himself to the utmost of every advantage in his power. He caused a large space of ground to be carefully levelled for the operation of his scythe-armed chariots; and he deposited his military stores in the strong town of Arbela, about twenty miles in his rear.

Darius avails himself of every advantage.

On learning that Darius was with a large army on the left of the Tigris, Alexander hurried forward and crossed that river without opposition. He was at first unable to procure any certain intelligence of the precise position of the enemy, and after giving his army a short interval of rest, he marched for four days down the left bank of the river.

On the fourth day of Alexander's southward march, his advanced guard reported that a body of the enemy's cavalry was in sight. He instantly formed his army in order for battle, and directing them to advance steadily, he rode forward at the head of some squadrons of cavalry, and charged the Persian horse whom he found

before him. This was a mere reconnoitring party, and they broke and fled immediately; but the Macedonians made some prisoners, and from them Alexander found that Darius was posted only a few miles off, and learned the strength of the army that he had with him. On receiving this news Alexander halted, and gave his men repose for four days, so that they should go into action fresh and vigorous. He also fortified his camp and deposited in it all his military stores, and all his sick and disabled soldiers, intending to advance upon the enemy with the serviceable part of his army perfectly unincumbered. After this halt, he moved forward, while it was yet dark, with the intention of reaching the enemy, and attacking them at break of day. About half-way between the camps there were some undulations of the ground, which concealed the two armies from each other's view; but, on Alexander arriving at their summit, he saw, by the early light, the Persian host arrayed before him, and he probably also observed traces of some engineering operations having been carried on along part of the ground in front of them. Not knowing that these marks had been caused by the Persians having levelled the ground for the free use of their war-chariots, Alexander suspected that hidden pitfalls had been prepared with a view of disordering the approach of his cavalry. He summoned a council of war forthwith. Some of the officers were for attacking instantly, at all hazards; but the more prudent opinion of Parmenio prevailed, and it was

Alexander's precautions.

determined not to advance further till the battle-ground had been carefully surveyed.

He reconnoitres.

Alexander halted his army on the heights, and taking with him some light-armed infantry and some cavalry, he passed part of the day in reconnoitring the enemy, and observing the nature of the ground which he had to fight on. Darius wisely refrained from moving his position to attack the Macedonians on the eminences which they occupied, and the two armies remained until night without molesting each other. On Alexander's return to headquarters, having briefly instructed his generals, he ordered that the army should sup, and take their rest for the night.

The Persians expected and were prepared to meet a night attack. Such was the apprehension that Darius entertained of it, that he formed his troops at evening in order of battle, and kept them under arms all night. The effect of this was, that the morning found them jaded and dispirited, while it brought their adversaries all fresh and vigorous against them.

Disposition of the Persian army.

The written order of battle which Darius himself caused to be drawn up, falling into the hands of the Macedonians after the engagement, Aristobulus copied it into his journal. On the extreme left were the Bactrian, Daan, and Arachosian cavalry. Next to these Darius placed the troops from Persia proper, both horse and foot. Then came the Susians, and next to these the Cadusians. These forces made up the left wing. Darius's own

station was in the centre. This was composed of the Indians, the Carians, the Mardian archers, and the division of Persians who were distinguished by the golden apples that formed the knobs of their spears. Here also were stationed the bodyguard of the Persian nobility. Besides these, there were, in the centre, formed in deep order, the Uxian and Babylonian troops, and the soldiers from the Red Sea. The brigade of Greek mercenaries, whom Darius had in his service, and who alone were considered fit to stand the charge of the Macedonian phalanx, was drawn up on either side of the royal chariot. The right wing was composed of the Celosyrians and Mesopotamians, the Medes, the Parthians, the Sacians, the Tapurians, Hycanians, Albanians, and Sacesinæ. In advance of the line on the left wing were placed the Scythian cavalry, with a thousand of the Bactrian horse, and a hundred scythe-armed chariots. The elephants and fifty scythe-armed chariots were ranged in front of the centre, and fifty more chariots, with the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry, were drawn up in advance of the right wing.

Thus arrayed, the great host of King Darius passed the night, that to many thousands of them was the last of their existence.

Alexander's generalship.

There was deep need of skill, as well as of valor, on Alexander's side; and few battlefields have witnessed more consummate generalship than was displayed by the Macedonian king. There were no natural barriers by

which he could protect his flanks; and not only was he certain to be overlapped on either wing by the vast lines of the Persian army, but there was imminent risk of their circling round him, and charging him in the rear, while he advanced against their centre. He formed, therefore, a second or reserve line, which was to wheel round, if required, or to detach troops to either flank, as the enemy's movements might necessitate; and thus, with their whole army ready at any moment to be thrown into one vast hollow square, the Macedonians advanced in two lines against the enemy, Alexander himself leading on the right wing, and the renowned phalanx forming the centre, while Parmenio commanded on the left.

Conspicuous by the brilliancy of his armor, and by the chosen band of officers who were round his person, Alexander took his own station, as his custom was, in the right wing, at the head of his cavalry; and when all the arrangements for the battle were complete, and his generals were fully instructed how to act in each probable emergency, he began to lead his men toward the enemy.

The Persian chariots.

Great reliance had been placed by the Persian king on the effect of the scythe-bearing chariots. It was designed to launch these against the Macedonian phalanx, and to follow them up by a heavy charge of cavalry, which, it was hoped, would find the ranks of the spearmen disordered by the rush of the chariots, and easily destroy this most formidable part of Alexander's force.

In front, therefore, of the Persian centre, where Darius took his station, and which it was supposed the phalanx would attack, the ground had been carefully levelled and smoothed, so as to allow the chariots to charge over it with their full sweep and speed. As the Macedonian army approached the Persian, Alexander found that the front of his whole line barely equalled the front line of the Persian centre, so that he was outflanked on the right by the entire left wing of the enemy, and by their entire right wing on the left. His tactics were to assail some one point of the hostile army, and gain a decisive advantage, while he refused, as far as possible, the encounter along the rest of the line. He therefore inclined his order of march to the right, so as to enable his right wing and centre to come into collision with the enemy on as favorable terms as possible, although the manœuvre might in some respect compromise his left.

The effect of this oblique movement was to bring the phalanx and his own wing nearly beyond the limits of the ground which the Persians had prepared for the operations of the chariots; and Darius, fearing to lose the benefit of this arm against the most important parts of the Macedonian force, ordered the Scythian and Bactrian cavalry, who were drawn up in advance on his extreme left, to charge round upon Alexander's right wing, and check its further lateral progress. Against these assailants Alexander sent from his second line Menidas's cavalry. As these proved too few to make head

The cavalry combat.

against the enemy, he ordered Ariston also from the second line with his light horse, and Cleander with his foot, in support of Menidas. The Bactrians and Scythians now began to give way, but Darius reinforced them by the mass of Bactrian cavalry from his main line, and an obstinate cavalry fight now took place. The Bactrians and Scythians were numerous, and were better armed than the horsemen under Menidas and Ariston; and the loss at first was heaviest on the Macedonian side. But still the European cavalry stood the charge of the Asiatics, and at last, by their superior discipline, the Macedonians broke their adversaries, and drove them off the field.

Charge of the chariots.

Darius now directed the scythe-armed chariots to be driven against Alexander's horse-guards and the phalanx, and these formidable vehicles were accordingly sent rattling across the plain, against the Macedonian line. But the Asiatic chariots were rendered ineffective at Arbela by the light-armed troops, whom Alexander had specially appointed for the service, and who, wounding the horses and drivers with their missile weapons, and running alongside so as to cut the traces or seize the reins, marred the intended charge; and the few chariots that reached the phalanx passed harmlessly through the intervals which the spearmen opened for them, and were easily captured in the rear.

The cavalry again engage.

A mass of Asiatic cavalry was now, for the second time, collected against Alexander's extreme right, and moved round it, with the view of gaining the flank of

his army. At the critical moment, when their own flanks were exposed by this evolution, Aretes dashed on the Persian squadrons with his horsemen from Alexander's second line. While Alexander thus met and baffled all the flanking attacks of the enemy with troops brought up from his second line, he kept his own horse-guards and the rest of the front line of his wing fresh, and ready to take advantage of the first opportunity for striking a decisive blow. This soon came. A large body of horse, who were posted on the Persian left wing nearest to the centre, quitted their station, and rode off to help their comrades in the cavalry fight, that still was going on at the extreme right of Alexander's wing against the detachments from his second line. This made a huge gap in the Persian array, and into this space Alexander instantly charged with his guard and all the cavalry of his wing; and then pressing toward his left, he soon began to make havoc in the left flank of the Persian centre. The shield-bearing infantry now charged also among the reeling masses of the Asiatics; and five of the brigades of the phalanx, with the irresistible might of the sarissas, bore down the Greek mercenaries of Darius, and dug their way through the Persian centre. In the early part of the battle Darius had shown skill and energy; and he now, for some time, encouraged his men, by voice and example, to keep firm. But the lances of Alexander's cavalry and the pikes of the phalanx now pressed nearer and nearer to him. His charioteer was struck down by a

Alexander charges with his guard.

Darius flees.

javelin at his side; and at last Darius's nerve failed him, and, descending from his chariot, he mounted on a fleet horse and galloped from the plain, regardless of the state of the battle in other parts of the field, where matters were going on much more favorably for his cause, and where his presence might have done much toward gaining a victory.

Peril of Parmenio's brigade.

Alexander's operations with his right and centre had exposed his left to an immensely preponderating force of the enemy. Parmenio kept out of action as long as possible; but Mazeus, who commanded the Persian right wing, advanced against him, completely outflanked him, and pressed away severely with reiterated charges by superior numbers. Seeing the distress of Parmenio's wing, Simmias, who commanded the sixth brigade of the phalanx, which was next to the left wing, did not advance with the other brigades in the great charge upon the Persian centre, but kept back to cover Parmenio's troops on *their* right flank, as otherwise they would have been completely surrounded and cut off from the rest of the Macedonian army. By so doing, Simmias had unavoidably opened a gap in the Macedonian left centre, and a large column of Indian and Persian horse from the Persian right centre had galloped forward through this interval, and right through the troops of the Macedonian second line. Instead of them wheeling around upon Parmenio, or upon the rear of Alexander's conquering wing, the Indian or Persian cavalry rode straight on to the

Macedonian camp, overpowered the Thracians who were left in charge of it, and began to plunder. This was stopped by the phalangite troops of the second line, who, after the enemy's horsemen had rushed by them, faced about, countermarched upon the camp, killed many of the Indians and Persians in the act of plundering, and forced the rest to ride off again. Just at this crisis Alexander had been recalled from his pursuit of Darius by tidings of the distress of Parmenio, and of his inability to bear up any longer against the hot attacks of Mazeus. Taking his horse-guards with him, Alexander rode toward the part of the field where his left wing was fighting; but on his way thither he encountered the Persian and Indian cavalry, on their return from his camp.

Alexander hastens to his aid.

These men saw that their only chance of safety was to cut their way through, and in one huge column they charged desperately upon the Macedonian regiments. There was here a close hand-to-hand fight, which lasted some time, and sixty of the royal horse-guards fell, and three generals who fought close to Alexander's side were wounded. At length the Macedonian discipline and valor again prevailed, and a large number of the Persian and Indian horsemen were cut down, some few only succeeding in breaking through and riding away. Relieved of these obstinate enemies, Alexander again formed his regiments of horse-guards, and led them toward Parmenio; but by this time that general also was victorious. Probably the news of Darius's flight had reached Mazeus, and

had damped the ardor of the Persian right wing, while the tidings of their comrades' success must have proportionately encouraged the Macedonian forces under Parmenio. His Thessalian cavalry particularly distinguished themselves by their gallantry and persevering good conduct; and by the time that Alexander had ridden up to Parmenio, the whole Persian army was in full flight from the field.

The whole army flees.

It was of the deepest importance to Alexander to secure the person of Darius, and he now urged on the pursuit. The river Lycus was between the field of battle and the city of Arbela, whither the fugitives directed their course, and the passage of this river was even more destructive to the Persians than the swords and spears of the Macedonians had been in the engagement. The narrow bridge was soon choked up by the flying thousands who rushed toward it, and vast numbers of the Persians threw themselves, or were hurried by others, into the rapid stream, and perished in its waters. Darius had crossed it, and had ridden on through Arbela without halting. Alexander reached that city on the next day, and made himself master of all Darius's treasure and stores; but the Persian king, unfortunately for himself, had fled too fast for his conqueror, but had only escaped to perish by the treachery of his Bactrian satrap, Bessus.

Death of Darius.

A few days after the battle Alexander entered Babylon, "the oldest seat of earthly empire" then in existence, as its acknowledged lord and master. There were yet

some campaigns of his brief and bright career to be accomplished. Central Asia was yet to witness the march of his phalanx. But the crisis of his career was reached; the great object of his mission was accomplished; and the ancient Persian empire, which once menaced all the nations of the earth with subjection, was irreparably crushed when Alexander had won his crowning victory at Arbela.

[On the death of Alexander, in 323, his empire is divided among his generals, between whom war immediately breaks out. These wars of the Diadochi last from 323 to 276, the Persian-Macedonian empire being finally divided up into five monarchies—Egypt, Syria, Pergamon, Bithynia and Macedonia. The Greek states, led by Athens, try to throw off the Macedonian yoke in the Lamian war (323-322). In 280, the Etolian League is founded and the Achean League is renewed. The Etolian League, in alliance with Sparta, defeats the Achean League. During the wars of the Diadochi, Athens makes several other attempts to regain its ancient power, but is finally subdued by the Macedonians in 263, after a three years' war. In 264, the First Punic War begins and is waged between the Romans and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at first have greatly the advantage at sea, but the Romans gradually learn, and win a naval victory, which makes their enemies sue for peace. The war ends in 241. This is the beginning of the

Death of Alexander.

First Punic War.

Roman provinces. Carthage cedes to Rome her possessions in Sicily. Before long Rome also gains the Carthaginian possessions in Sardinia and Corsica (238). The Carthaginian dominion is, however, extending in Spain. Illyria is subjugated by Rome in 229-228; and Cisalpine Gaul in 225-222. An army of seven thousand Gauls is annihilated in the battle of Telamon in 225.

Second Punic War.

The Carthaginian acquisitions in Spain give rise to the Second Punic War (218-201). Hannibal invades Italy and gains victories on the Ticinus and Trebia in 218, and is joined by sixty thousand insurgents in Cisalpine Gaul. The great defeat of Lake Trasimene (217) excites terror in Rome, but the Romans suffer a still greater disaster the following year at Cannæ. In 215, however, Marcellus defeats Hannibal at Nola and forces him to assume the defensive in Apulia, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from Spain. In 208, Philopemen, "the last of the Greeks," defeats the Spartans in the battle of Mantinea. Rome is now actively interested in Greek politics.]

Hannibal defeated.

END OF VOLUME ONE